BIBLIOTHECA BODLEIANA

THE HISTORY OF THE LIFE and TIMES OF *Cardinal WOLSEY*,

Prime Minister to King HENRY VIII.

I. Of his Birth, and the various Steps he took to attain Preferment, connected with Affairs, both Foreign and Domestick, from the Death of EDWARD IV. to the End of the Reign of HENRY VII.

II. Of his Conduct and Management while Prime Minister, commencing with the Reign of HENRY VIII. and continued by way of Annals to his Disgrace and Death, including the general Transactions of *Europe*.

III. Memoirs of the Emperor CHARLES V. HENRY VIII. and FRANCIS I. from the Demise of the Cardinal, to their respective Deaths.

IV. The Secret History of the Cardinal, by *George Cavendish*, Esq; his Gentleman-usher, written in the Reign of PHILIP and MARY.

In which are interspersed

The LIVES and memorable ACTIONS of the most eminent Persons: And the whole illustrated with Political and Moral Reflections.

Collected from Antient RECORDS, MANUSCRIPTS, and HISTORIANS.

Adorn'd with CUTS, and a compleat INDEX.

Ne quid Falsi dicere audeat, ne quid veri non audeat. CIC.

Oh fatal Love of Fame! Oh glorious Heat!
Only destructive to the Brave and Great. ADDIS.

By JOSEPH GROVE, *Gent.*

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BIBLIOTHECA BODLEIANA

To the HONOURABLE

Sir *Matthew Decker*, Bart.

SIR,

IT has been an allowed *Maxim* in all Ages, that *Liberty* and *Learning* exiſt and flouriſh together; for we find, in both antient and modern *Hiſtory*, that wherever *Commerce* has proſper'd (as in *Free States* ſhe only can) that the *Liberal Arts* have always found Protection and Encouragement.

I HOPE therefore, Sir, I ſhall neither offend you, by preſuming to prefix your Name to this *Third Volume* of a Work intended to ſet *Merit* in its true Light; nor yet by mentioning ſome part of your *amiable Character*: Becauſe every one will be ready to juſtify me when I ſay, That

DEDICATION.

That your Candour and Benevolence, your Love of Science, and impartial Favour to Worth of every kind, with your Compaſſion to the Diſtreſſed, have eminently appear'd thro' your whole Conduct, which will perpetuate and endear your Name to *lateſt Poſterity*.

THAT you may long enjoy the true Satisfaction, ariſing from ſuch worthy and generous Principles and Actions, is the ſincere Wiſh of him, who is, with very great Reſpect and Eſteem,

SIR,

Your moſt devoted,

Humble Servant,

Richmond, Sept. 17, 1748.

J. GROVE.

THE PREFACE.

AT the Cloſe of our *Second Volume* we left Cardinal WOLSEY in Poſſeſſion of four of the higheſt Stations the Kingdom afforded in his Time; in *this* we have further attended him through *eight* Years Adminiſtration thereof; in the Courſe of which, not only his ſurprizing Capacity and great Conduct ſeem to out-ſhine every Example in Hiſtory that went before him; but alſo, we venture to ſay it, that almoſt every Thing that has hitherto, either by Accident or Deſign, appeared like a Slur on his Character, is very near, if not quite, wiped off. Though, 'tis but too true, "There is ſuch a Weakneſs "among Mankind, that they look with Admi- "ration upon Perſons remarkable for Miſchief, "and are more pleaſed to be talking of the "Deſtroyer, than the Founder or Preſerver of "a King-

" a Kingdom, its Laws, and Conſtitutions;" which is the Reaſon, as we conceive, why the Memory of our Miniſter's *Sovereign* is the very Contraſt of *His*.

Notwithſtanding we have endeavoured to clear up Matters as we proceeded, we think it neceſſary here to introduce Mr. CAVENDISH's Preface to his *Life of the* CARDINAL, in order to remove a few inconſiſtent Imputations he has let ſlip him, againſt his beſt of Maſters, that occur chiefly in *this* and the *next Volume*, which is very forward in the Preſs, and we purpoſe to publiſh it about *Whitſuntide* next, thereby to compleat our Hiſtory.

Mr. CAVENDISH's PREFACE.

IT ſeemeth no Wiſdom to credit every light Tale, blazed abroad in the Mouths of the Vulgar, for we daily hear how with their blaſphemous Trump they ſpread abroad innumerable Lies, without either Shame or Honeſty, which prima facie *ſheweth forth a Viſage of Truth, as though it were an abſolute Verity, though indeed nothing more than meer Tales, but amongſt the better Sort thoſe Babblings are of no Validity.*

I have read the Allegations of divers worthy Authors againſt ſuch falſe Rumours and Opinions of the common People, who delight in nothing more than to hear ſtrange Things, and to ſee new Alterations

terations of Authority, rejoicing ſometimes in ſuch Novelties, which afterwards do produce Repentance. Thus may all Men of Underſtanding conceive the Madneſs of the rude Multitude, and not give too much Credence to every ſudden Rumour, until the Truth be perfectly known by the Report of ſome approved and credible Perſons, that commonly have the beſt Intelligence.

I have heard, and alſo ſeen ſet forth in divers printed Books, ſome untrue Imaginations, after the Death of divers Perſons, (who in their Lives were in great Eſtimation) invented rather to bring their honeſt Names in queſtion than otherwiſe.

Now foraſmuch as I intend to write here ſome ſpecial Proceedings of Cardinal Wolſey, *the great Archbiſhop, his Aſcending unto Honour and great Promotion, his Continuance in it, and ſudden Falling from the ſame, a great Part whereof ſhall be of mine own Knowledge, and ſome Part from credible Perſons Informations.*

This Cardinal was my Lord and Maſter, whom in his Life-time I ſerved, and ſo remained with him in his Fall continually, during the Time of all his Troubles, both in the South *and* North *Parts, until he died: In all which Time I punctually obſerved all his Demeanours, as alſo in his great Triumph and glorious Eſtate.*

And

And ſince his Departure I have heard divers ſurmiſed and imagined Tales concerning his Proceedings and Dealings, which I myſelf have certainly known to be moſt untrue; unto which I could have ſufficiently anſwered according to Truth: But, conceiving it to be much better to be ſilent, than to reply againſt their Untruths, whereby I might, perhaps, have rather kindled a great Flame of Diſpleaſure, than have quenched one Spark of their untrue Reports; therefore I did refer the Truth thereof to the Almighty, who knows the Truth of all Things.

Nevertheleſs, whatſoever any Man hath conceived of him in his Life, or ſince his Death, thus much I dare ſay without Offence to any, That in my Judgment I never ſaw this Realm in better Obedience and Quiet, than it was in the Time of his Authority, nor Juſtice better adminiſtred without Partiality, as I could juſtly prove, if I ſhould not be taxed with too much Affection.

ERRATA.

Page 56, Line 28, for *Legatus*, read *Legates*; p. 89, l. 25, f. *Love*, r. *Loves*; p. 107, l. 32, dele *no*; p. 108, l. 2, f. *him*, r. *them*; p. 114, Col. 1, l. 10, dele *at the Seat*; p. 143, l. 8, f. *I*, r. *We*; p. 176, l. 36, f. *France*, r. *England*; p. 186, l. 33, f. *their*, r. *your*; p. 237, l. 6, f. 1527, r. 1507; p. 238, l. 25, ſupply an *Aſteriſk* at *Minds*; p. 247, l. 12, f. *Biſhops*, r. *Biſhop*; p. 252, c. 2, l. 25, f. *want*, r. *wont*; p. 255, c. 1, l. 25, f. *Treaty*, r. *Treatiſe*; p. 272, l. 35, f. *of Side*. r. *Side of*; p. 320, c. 2, l. 21, f. *His Noble Son*, r. *This Illuſtrious Peer*; p. 356, in the Note, l. 14, f. *Baſineſs*, r. *Buſineſs*; p. 364, l. 15, f. 1525, r. 1524; p. 377, l. 5, f. *ſhould ſerve*, r. *ſhould not ſerve*.

THE HISTORY OF THE LIFE and TIMES OF *Cardinal* WOLSEY.

WE concluded our Second Volume with an Account of the *Sweating Sickneſs*, which happily ceaſing, the King again appeared publickly in his Court, and the Welfare of the State ſeemed to be the chief Object of his Majeſty's Ambition, and his Prime Miniſter's Care, not forgetting the Advancement of Trade and Commerce, the principal Support of all happy Governments. *Affairs of England.* 1518.

As it was now found, that the keeping of *Tournay* did not anſwer the Expence of preſerving it, the King readily liſtened to Propoſals for delivering it up to the

the *French*: And *Francis* the Iſt, finding all his Schemes, for diſtreſſing *England*, by encouraging Invaſions in Favour of *Richard de la Pole*, prove abortive, now entertained more pacifick Notions, which put him, the Beginning of this Year, on renewing the Negotiation for reſtoring to him the Town of *Tournay*.

To further this, *Francis* ſent a ſolemn Embaſſy to *England*, conſiſting of Admiral *Bonivet*, the Archbiſhop of *Paris*, and Monſ. *de Villeroy*, Secretary of State, with a Train of no leſs than 1200 Perſons.

Upon their Arrival they waited on Cardinal *Wolſey*, and were ſoon after introduced to his Majeſty in great State, one of whom imparted the Cauſe of their Embaſſy in an elegant Speech to the following Effect: "That they had full Power to treat of renewing "the Friendſhip between the two Kings, and of "confirming the League with the Pope and all "Chriſtian Princes, that deſired to be included, for "the Defence of Religion and the Church; of a "Marriage between the Dauphin and the Princeſs "*Mary*, Daughter of *Henry*; of the Reſtitution of "*Tournay*; and of an Interview between the two "Kings."

Henry gave them a moſt gracious Reception, and referred them to the Cardinal of *York*, on whom they immediately attended; and in a ſhort time they prepared and agreed on no leſs than four Treaties.*

The *firſt* related to the Marriage between the Princeſs *Mary* and the *Dauphin*, which was to be ſolemnized as ſoon as the young Prince was full 14 Years old, in which it was ſtipulated, "That whoſe "Maſter's Fault it ſhould be, that the Marriage was not "compleated, he ſhould pay 500,000 Crowns: That "Princeſs *Mary*'s Dower ſhould be 333,000 Crowns "of Gold, one Half to be paid on the Day of Mar-"riage, and the other within a Year: That her Join-

"ture

* Publ. Acts XIII, Pag. 642, 644, 679.

" ture ſhould be as much as either *Anne* of *Bretagne*, " or *Mary* of *England*, Conſorts to *Lewis* the XIIth."

This Treaty of Marriage between the Dauphin and the Princeſs *Mary* was originally owing to the Cardinal's Advice, and the Progreſs of it principally conducted by him.

The *ſecond* was upon the Reſtitution of *Tournay*, for which *Francis* the Iſt agreed " to pay 600,000 " Crowns of 35 Pence *Tournois* each, beſides 500,000 " Livres due to him from the Inhabitants; but out " of

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The SECRET HISTORY of the CARDINAL, by GEORGE CAVENDISH, Eſq; his Gentleman-Uſher.

CHAP. XI.

Of the Variance between the French *King and the Duke of* Bourbon, *who fled to the City of* Pavia, *where the King beſieged him.*

' THEN began a certain Grudge, between the *French* King and the Duke of *Bourbon*, to break out; inſomuch that the Duke, being now at Variance with the Houſe of *France*, was compelled, for Safe-guard of his Life, to fly and forſake his Country, fearing the King's Malice and Indignation.

' The Cardinal, having Intelligence hereof, contrived that the King our Sovereign Lord ſhould obtain the Duke to be his General in his Wars againſt the *French* King, with whom our King had then an Occaſion to war; and the rather, becauſe the Duke of *Bourbon* was fled to the Emperor to invite him unto a like Purpoſe, where he moved the King in this Matter. And after the King was adviſed thereof, and conceived the Cardinal's Invention, he muſed more and more of this Matter, until it came into a Conſultation amongſt the Council; ſo that it was concluded, that an Ambaſſador ſhould be ſent to the Emperor about this Matter; and it was further concluded, that the King and Emperor ſhould join in thoſe Wars againſt the *French* King, and that the Duke of *Bourbon* ſhould be the King of *England*'s Champion, and General in the Field, who had a Number of good

" of theſe two Sums *Francis* was to keep back the " Princeſs *Mary*'s Dower." As to the Payments, he obliged himſelf " to pay 50,000 Livres on taking " Poſſeſſion of the Place, and 25,000 Livres every " Month, till the whole ſhould be paid."

The *third* concerned the Outrages which might be committed for the future againſt the Peace by the Subjects of either King, and contained certain Regulations to procure ſpeedy Reparation.

By the *fourth* the two Monarchs were to have an Inter-

' Soldiers over and beſides the ' Emperor's Army, which was ' not ſmall, and that the King ' ſhould pay the Duke Month- ' ly Wages for himſelf and his ' Retinue.

' For which purpoſe *John Ruſ- ' ſell*, who was afterwards created ' Earl of *Bedford*, lay continual- ' ly beyond the Seas in a ſecret ' Place, both to receive Money ' from the King, and to pay the ' ſame Monthly to the Duke; ſo ' that the Duke began the War ' with the *French* King in his ' own Territories and Dukedom, ' which the King had gotten into ' his own Hands, being not per- ' fectly known to the Duke's ' Enemies, that he had any Aid ' from our Sovereign Lord, and ' thus he wrought the *French* ' King much Diſpleaſure, in- ' aſmuch that the *French* King ' was conſtrained to prepare a ' preſent Army, and in his own ' Perſon to reſiſt the Duke's ' Power. And Battle being join- ' ed, the King drove him to ' take *Pavia*, a ſtrong Town ' in *Italy*, with his Hoſt of Men ' for his Security, where the ' King encamped himſelf won- ' derfully ſtrong, intending to ' cloſe the Duke within the ' Town, leſt he ſhould iſſue out, ' and ſkirmiſh with him.

' The *French* King in his ' Camp ſent ſecretly into *Eng- ' land* a private Perſon (being a ' very witty Man) to treat of a ' Peace between his Maſter and ' our Sovereign Lord. His Name ' was *John Jokin*, who was ' kept as ſecretly as might be, ' no Man having Intelligence of ' his Arrival; for he was no ' *Frenchman* born, but an *Ita- ' lian*, a Man of no great Eſti- ' mation in *France*, or known to ' be much in his Maſter's Fa- ' vour, but taken to be a Mer- ' chant, and, for his ſubtle Wit, ' was elected to treat of ſuch ' an Ambaſſage as the *French* ' King had given him in Com- ' miſſion.

' This *Jokin* was ſecretly con- ' veyed to *Richmond*, and there ' ſtayed until ſuch Time as the ' Cardinal reſorted thither to him, ' where, after *Eaſter* Term was ' ended, he kept his Feaſt of ' *Whitſontide* very ſolemnly; in

' which

Interview in the Village of *Sandinfelt*, between *Ardres* and *Guefnes*.

These Treaties were no sooner stipulated, but signed, (on the 14th of *October*) and ratified in Form both at *London* and *Paris*. At the same time the *French* Ambassadors gave Cardinal *Wolsey* their Masters Letters Patent, whereby he bound himself to pay him an annual Pension of 12,000 Livres *Tournois*, to satisfy him for the Loss of the Bishoprick of *Tournay*.

The

By GEORGE CAVENDISH, *Esq*;

' which Season my Lord Cardi-
' nal caused this *Jolin* divers
' times to dine with him, who
' seemed to be both Witty, and
' of good Behaviour. He conti-
' nued long in *England* after this,
' till at the last (as it should
' seem) he had brought the Mat-
' ter, which he had in Com-
' mission, to pass. Whereupon
' the King sent out immediately
' a Restraint unto Sir *John Ruf-*
' *sell*, that he should retain that
' Month's Pay still in his Hands,
' until the King's Pleasure should
' be further made known, which
' should have been paid to the
' Duke, being then encamped
' within the Town of *Pavia*.
' For want of which Money the
' Duke and his Men were much
' dismayed, when they saw no
' Money come as it was wont
' to do, and being in this dan-
' gerous Case where Victuals be-
' gan to be scant, and very dear,
' they imagined many Ways
' what should be the Reason
' that the King's Money came
' not; some said this, and some
' said that, mistrusting nothing
' else than the true Cause thereof.

CHAP. XII.

Of the Duke of Bourbon's *Stratagem and Victory, wherein the* French *King was taken Prisoner.*

' NOW the Duke and his
' Soldiers were in great
' Misery for want of Victuals,
' and other Necessaries, which
' they could by no Means get
' within the Town: Hereupon
' the Captains and Soldiers be-
' gan to grudge and murmur,
' being, for want of Victuals, all
' like to perish, and being in
' this Extremity, came before
' the Duke, and said, — Sir,
' we must of Force and Necessity
' yield to our Enemies; and bet-
' ter were it for us so to do, than
' to starve like Dogs. But when
' the Duke heard this, he replied
' with weeping Tears; — Sirs,
' (quoth he) you have proved
' yourselves valiant Men, and of
' noble Hearts in this Service;
' and for your Necessity, whereof

' I

The friendly Offices which the two Kings exchanged, whilſt theſe Treaties were depending, and the mutual Amity and Confidence eſtabliſhed between them by the Concluſion of it, made each Monarch more and more deſire the Interview agreed to; and upon this Occaſion indeed, ſays Dr. *Fiddes*, " The " King of *France* ſhewed, by a very ſenſible, demon- " ſtrative Proof, how much he eſteemed the Cardinal, " and what great Truſt and Confidence he repoſed " in his Integrity and Honour; for, after it had " been

' I myſelf do participate, I do ' not a little lament: But I ſhall ' deſire you, as you are noble ' in Heart and Courage, ſo to ' take Patience for two or three ' Days, and if Succour come not ' then from the King of *Eng-* ' *gland*, (as I doubt nothing leſs) ' I will then conſent to you all ' to put ourſelves and Lives un- ' to the Mercy of our Enemies;— ' whereunto they all agreed, and ' tarrying till two Days were ' paſt, expecting Relief from the ' King.—Then the Duke, ſeeing ' no Remedy, called his noble ' Captains and Soldiers before ' him, and, weeping, ſaid;—— ' You Noblemen and Captains, ' we muſt yield ourſelves unto ' our Enemies, or elſe famiſh, ' and to yield the Town and ' ourſelves, I know well the ' Cruelty of our Enemies; as for ' my Part I paſs not for their ' Cruelties, for I ſhall ſuffer ' Death (I know very well) ' moſt cruelly, if I come once in- ' to their Hands. It is not there- ' fore for myſelf that I do la- ' ment, it is for your Sakes, and ' for your Lives, and for the ' Safe-guard of your Perſons; for, ' ſo that you might eſcape your ' Enemies Hands, I would wil- ' lingly ſuffer Death. Good Com- ' panions, and noble Soldiers, I ' do require you all, conſidering ' the miſerable Calamities and ' Dangers we are in at this pre- ' ſent, to ſell your Lives moſt ' dearly, rather than to be mur- ' dered like Beaſts; therefore, if ' you all conſent with me, we ' will take upon us this Night ' to give our Enemies Aſſault, ' and by that Means we may ei- ' ther eſcape, or elſe give them an ' Overthrow, for it were better ' to die in the Field like Men, ' than to live Priſoners miſerably ' in Captivity.—To which they ' all agreed.

' Then (quoth the Duke) you ' all perceive the Enemies Camp ' is ſtrong, and there is no Way ' to enter upon them but one, and ' that Entry is planted with great ' Ordnance and Strength of Men, ' ſo that it is impoſſible to attain ' to our Enemies that Way, to ' fight with them in their Camp: ' And alſo now of late, you per- ' ceive, they have had but ſmall

' Doubt

" been agreed and concluded, by the Commiſſioners " on both Sides in *London*, that there ſhould be an " Interview of the two Kings, the King of *France* " entirely referred the Regulation of it with reſpect " to the Time, Manner and Place of the Congreſs, " with the other requiſite Circumſtances to the Cardi- " nal's Direction."

This weighty Buſineſs being thus diſpatched, it was ſucceeded by a ſolemn Maſs, performed by the Biſhop of *Durham*; after which Dr. *Tunſtal* made an elegant Speech,

By GEORGE CAVENDISH, *Eſq;*

" Doubt of us, in regard they " have kept but ſlender Watch. " Therefore mine Advice is, " there ſhall iſſue out of the " Town, in the dead Time of " the Night, from us, a certain " Number of you, that be the " moſt likely to aſſault the Camp, " and they ſhall give the Aſſault " ſecretly againſt the Place of " the Entry, which is moſt ſtrong " and invincible, which Force " and valiant Aſſault ſhall be to " them of the Camp ſo doubtful, " that they will turn the Strength " of the Entry, that layeth over- " againſt your Aſſault, to beat " you from your Purpoſe. Then " will I go out at the Poſtern-gate, " and come to the Place of their " Strength newly turned, and there, " ere they be aware, will I enter " and fight with them in the " Camp, and win their Ordnance, " which they have newly turned, " and beat them with their own " Pieces, and then may you come " and join with me in the Field.— " So this Deviſe pleaſed them all " wonderfully well, and did then " prepare themſelves all that Day " for that Deviſe, and kept them- " ſelves ſecret and cloſe without " any Noiſe or Shot of Pieces in " the Town, which gave the " Enemy the leſs Fear of the As- " ſault, for at Night they went " all to their Tents, and couched " quietly, nothing miſtruſting " what after happened; ſo in the " dead of the Night, when they " were at Reſt, the Aſſailants iſ- " ſued out of the Town, and " there, according to the Duke's " Appointment, they gave ſo " cruel and fierce an Aſſault, " that they in the Camp had " much ado to withſtand them. " And then (as the Duke before " declared) they within were " compelled to turn the Shot " that lay at the Entry againſt " the Aſſault; then iſſued out " the Duke, and with him about " fifteen or ſixteen hundred Men " or more, ſecretly in the Night, " the Enemy being ignorant of " his coming until he entred the " Field, and at his Entry he took " all the Ordnance that lay there, " and ſlew the Gunners; then " charged the Pieces againſt the " Enemies, and ſlew them won- " derfully, and cut down their " Tents

Speech, in the Preſence of their Majeſties and the *French* Ambaſſadors, in Praiſe of the Marriage ſo happily concluded between the Dauphin and the Princeſs *Mary*.

At Night a noble Banquet was prepared, by the Cardinal, for the Entertainment of the Ambaſſadors, at which were preſent the prime Nobility and Gentry of both Sexes. There were three Gentlemen in wide, long Gowns of Crimſon Sattin, the firſt bearing a Cup of Gold full of Angels and Royals, the ſecond had divers

'Tents and Pavilions, and murdered many therein ere they were aware of his coming, ſuſpecting nothing leſs than his Entry, ſo that he won the Field ere the King could ariſe; ſo the King was taken in his Lodging before he was harneſſed. And when the Duke had won the Field, the *French* King taken, and his Men ſlain, his Tents robbed and ſpoiled, and the King's Coffers ſearched, the Duke of *Bourbon* found the League under the great Seal of *England*, newly made between the King of *England* and the *French* King, whereby he perceived the Impediment of his Money which ſhould have come to him from the King, having upon due Search of this Matter further Intelligence, that all this Buſineſs was deviſed by the Cardinal of *England*. Whereupon the Duke conceived ſuch Indignation againſt the Cardinal, that he went immediately to *Rome*, and there intended to ſack the Town, and to have taken the Pope; but at the firſt Aſſault of the Town, the Duke was the firſt Man that was there ſlain, notwithſtanding the Captains continued their Aſſaults. And at laſt many of the Town fled with the Pope to the Caſtle of *St. Angelo*, where he continued in great Calamity.

'I have written this Hiſtory more at large, becauſe it was thought of all this Miſchief, wherefore you may ſee whatſoever a Man doth purpoſe, be he Prince or Prelate, yet God diſpatcheth all Things at his Pleaſure and Will; it being a Folly for any wiſe Man to take upon him any weighty Prize of his own Will, without calling upon God for his Grace and Aſſiſtance in all his Proceedings.

'I have ſeen Princes, either when they would call a Parliament, or any other great Aſſembly, that they would firſt call to God moſt reverently for his Grace therein. And now I ſee the contrary, as it ſeems they truſt more to their own Minds and Wills, than to God's good Grace. And even thereafter

'often-

divers Pair of Dice, and the third ſeveral Packs of Cards, which being properly diſtributed, the Minſtrels played, and the Lords and Ladies entred into the Chamber diſguiſed; the firſt was the King himſelf, the *French* Queen, the Lady *Dawbeney*, the Lord Admiral, the Lady *Guildford*, Sir *Edward Neville*, the Lady *St. Leger*, Sir *Henry Guildford*, *Richard Sackville*, Eſq; * Treaſurer of the Army in *France*, Mr. *Waldon*, Capt. *Emory*, and many others; on whom attended twelve Knights, bearing Torches, all dreſſed in

By GEORGE CAVENDISH, *Eſq*;

' oftentimes do their Matters
' take Effect; wherefore not
' only in this Hiſtory, but in di-
' vers others, may be perceived
' moſt evident Examples. Yet I
' ſee no Man almoſt in Autho
' rity, or high Eſtate, regard the
' fame, which is the greater Pity,
' and the more to be lamented.
' Now here I deſiſt to ſpeak any
' further of this Matter; and to
' proceed to others.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the French *King's Redemption out of Captivity, and of the Cardinal's Ambaſſage into* France.

' UPON the taking of the
' *French* King, there were
' divers Conſultations and va-
' rious Opinions amongſt the
' Council. Some hold that if our
' Sovereign Lord the King could
' invade

* This Gentleman was Sheriff of *Surry* and *Suſſex*, 13 *Henry* the VIIth, from whom was deſcended the very learned Sir *Thomas Sackville*, created Baron of *Buckhurſt*, the 8th of *June*, 9 *Eliz.* afterwards made Lord Treaſurer, and, on the 13th of *May*, 1603, was created Earl of *Dorſet*; and from this illuſtrious Nobleman his Grace, *Lionel* Duke of *Dorſet*, is deſcended, whoſe eldeſt Son, *Charles*, Earl of *Middleſex*, is Knight of the Shire for *Suſſex*.—— The immortal *Prior* gives the World the following Character of the great Earl of *Dorſet*, his preſent Grace's Father.—" He poſ-
" ſeſſed all thoſe Virtues in the higheſt Degree, upon which the
" Pleaſure of Society and Happineſs of Life depend, and he ex-
" erciſed them with the greateſt Decency and beſt Manners. As
" Good-nature is ſaid by a great Author, Dr. *Sprat*, to belong
" more particularly to the *Engliſh*, than any other Nation, it
" may again be ſaid, it belonged more particularly to the late
" Earl of *Dorſet*, than to any other *Engliſhman*.

in fine green Sattin. After they had danced they made themſelves known, and great Rejoicing was made at ſight of his Majeſty, and the whole was conducted without the leaſt Breach of Decency and good Order.

Soon after the *French* Ambaſſadors, having fully executed their Commiſſions, returned Home highly ſatisfied with the kind and generous Treatment, they had met with during their Stay in *England*.

Upon this the Earl of *Worceſter*, Lord Chamberlain,

' invade the Realm of *France*, ' he might eaſily conquer the ' ſame, for as much as the King ' with the moſt Part of the No- ' blemen of *France* were in Cap- ' tivity. Some ſaid again, that ' the King our Maſter ought to ' have had the *French* King Pri- ' ſoner, for as much as he was ' taken by our King's Cham- ' pion and Captain General, the ' Duke of *Bourbon* and the Em- ' peror. Inſomuch that the King ' was adviſed thereby to Occa- ' ſion of War againſt the Em- ' peror, becauſe he kept the ' King of *France* out of our ' King's Poſſeſſion, with divers ' Imaginations and Deviſes as ' their Fantacies ſerved, which ' were

" His Table was one of the laſt that gave us an Example of " the old Houſe-keeping of an *Engliſh* Nobleman, a Freedom " reigned at it, that made every one of his Gueſts think himſelf " at Home, and an Abundance which ſhewed that the Maſter's " Hoſpitality extended to many more than thoſe who had the " Honour to ſit at his Table. We may find among the *Greeks* and " *Latins*, *Tibellus* and *Gallus*, the Noblemen that writ Poetry; " *Auguſtus* and *Mæcenas*, the Protectors of Learning; *Ariſtides*, the " good Citizen; and *Atticus*, the well-bred Friend; and bring them " in as Examples of Lord *Dorſet*'s Wit, his Judgment, his Juſt- " neſs, his Civility; but for his *Charity* we can ſcarce find a " Parallel in Hiſtory itſelf."

" *Titus* was not more the *Deliciæ Humani generis* on this Ac- " count, than my Lord *Dorſet* was; and, without any Exaggera- " tion, that Prince did not do more Good in Proportion, out of " the Revenue of the *Roman* Empire, than Lord *Dorſet*, out of " the Income of a private Eſtate. Let this, my Lord, (ſays Mr. " *Prior*, addreſſing himſelf to the preſent Duke of *Dorſet*) remain " to your Poſterity a Poſſeſſion for ever to be imitated, and, if " poſſible, to be excelled."

lain,* ſet out on a ſolemn Ambaſſy to *France*, accompanied by Dr. *Nicholas Weſt*, Biſhop of *Ely*, the Lord *St. John*, Sir *John Pechy*, and Sir *Thomas Bulleyn*, where they were received with the higheſt Honours. Here the Marriage-treaty was confirmed, the King and Queen of *France*, in the Name of the Dauphin, affianced the Princeſs *Mary*, repreſented by the Earl of *Worceſter*, her Proxy, which Ceremony was performed at *Paris* the 21ſt of *December*.

About the latter End of *Lent* the Cardinal accompanied

By GEORGE CAVENDISH, *Eſq*;

' were too long here to re-
' late.

' Thus were they in long
' Conſideration, whereof every
' Man in the Court talked as
' his Fancy ſerved him, until
' at the laſt divers Ambaſſadors,
' from the Realm of *France*,
' came to the King our Lord,
' deſiring him to take Order
' with the Emperor for the
' *French* King's Delivery, as his
' Highneſs's Wiſdom ſhould think
' beſt, wherein my Lord Cardi-
' nal bore great Rule. So that
' after great Deliberation and
' Advice taken, it was thought
' good by the Cardinal, that the
' Emperor ſhould deliver the
' *French* King out of his Ward
' upon ſufficient Pledges.

' And afterwards it was thought
' mete that the King's two Sons,
' (that is to ſay) the Dauphin
' and the Duke of *Orleans*, ſhould
' be delivered in Hoſtage for Se-
' curity of the Emperor, and the
' King our Sovereign Lord, up-

* Lord Chamberlain's Office is to take care of all the Officers and Servants belonging to the King's Chambers, (excepting thoſe within the Precincts of the King's Bed-chambers, which are wholly under the Groom of the Stole.) All above Stairs are ſworn into their Places by this Lord; and, what is not commonly practiſed in other Nations, though he is a Layman, he has the Overſight of the King's Chaplains.

'Tis his Lordſhip's Place to inſpect into the Charges of Coronations, Marriages, Publick Entries, Cavalcades, Funerals, and ſuch other Solemnities; and alſo into all the Furniture in the Parliament-houſe, and in the Addreſſing-rooms. He has alſo the Inſpection of all the King's Palaces, Offices of Wardrobe, &c. Revels, Muſick, Comedians, Huntſmen, &c. Tradeſmen employed in the King's Service; and alſo a Juriſdiction over the Heralds, Purſuivants, Serjeants at Arms, Phyſicians, &c. The preſent great Officer is his Grace, *Charles* Duke of *Grafton*.

panied the King and Queen in their Progreſs to *Abingdon*, where, the Day after their Arrival, a ſolemn Deputation of the principal Heads of the Univerſity of *Oxford* was ſent, to pay their Duty to their Majeſties, when they were likewiſe introduced to the Cardinal, and then returned greatly pleaſed at the Reception they had met with.

The Queen took that Opportunity to viſit *Oxford*, attended by the Cardinal, who was received with

'on all ſuch Demands and Requeſts as ſhould be demanded 'of the *French* King, as well 'by the Emperor as by our Sove'reign Lord.

'The Cardinal, lamenting the '*French* King's Captivity, and 'the Pope's great Adverſity, 'who yet remained in the Caſtle 'of *St. Angelo*, either as Priſoner, 'or elſe for Defence againſt his 'Enemies, endeavoured and la'boured all that he could with 'the King and his Council, to 'take ſome order for the Quiet'neſs of them both.

'At the laſt, as you heard be'fore, divers of the great States 'and Lords of the Council, with 'the Lady *Anne*, lay in continual 'wait to ſpy a convenient Occa'ſion to take the Cardinal in a 'Snare.

'Therefore they conſulted 'with the Cardinal, and inform'ed him, that they thought it a 'neceſſary Time for him to take 'upon him the King's Commiſ'miſſion to travel beyond the 'Seas, and by his Wiſdom to 'compaſs a preſent Peace amongſt 'theſe great Princes and Poten'tates, encouraging him thereto, 'and alledging, that it was more 'mete for his Wiſdom, Diſcre'tion, and Authority, to bring 'ſo weighty a Matter to paſs, 'than any other within this 'Realm. Their Intent was no 'other but to get him from the 'King, that they might adven'ture, by the Help of their chief 'Miſtreſſes, to deprave him unto 'the King, and ſo in his Abſence bring him into his Diſ'grace, or at the leaſt to be in 'leſs Eſtimation.

'Well, the Matter was ſo 'handled, that the Cardinal was 'commanded to prepare himſelf 'for the Journey, which he took 'upon him, but whether willingly or not I cannot ſay. But 'this I know, that he made ſo 'ſhort Abode after the perfect Reſolution thereof, that he cauſed 'all Things to be prepared ſpeedily for his Journey, and every 'one of his Servants were appointed that ſhould attend him 'in the ſame.

'When all Things were con'cluded and provided for this 'noble Journey, he advanced 'forwards in the Name of God: 'My Lord had with him ſuch

'of

with all the Honours and Expreſſions of Joy that could be ſhewn on the Occaſion.

The Cardinal, after he had entred the Convocation, and received the congratulatory Addreſſes from the Univerſity, made a Speech in Return, wherein he declared, "How much he had the Intereſt of the "Univerſity at heart, and how deſirous he was of "doing it real Service." To which End he particularly propoſed to found divers Lectures; and concluded

By GEORGE CAVENDISH, *Eſq;*

'of the Lords and Biſhops as 'were not of the Conſpiracy.

'Then marched he forward 'from his new Houſe at *Weſt-* 'minſter through all *London*, over '*London-bridge*, having a great 'many of Gentlemen, in a Rank 'before him, in Velvet-coats, 'and the moſt part of them with 'Chains of Gold about their 'Necks, and all his Yeomen fol- 'lowed him with Noblemen, 'and great Men's Servants all 'in Orange-tawny Coats, and 'the Cardinal's Hat with *T.* and '*C.* for *Thomas Cardinal*, em- 'broidered upon them, as well 'upon his own Servants Coats 'as all the reſt of the Gentle- 'men, and his ſumpter Mules, 'which were twenty and more 'in Number: And when all his 'Carriages and Carts, and other 'his Train were paſſed before, 'he rode very ſumptuouſly like 'a Cardinal with the reſt of his 'Train on his Mule, with his 'ſpare Mule, and his ſpare Horſe 'covered with Crimſon Velvet, 'and gilt Stirrops, following him. 'And before him he had his two 'great Silver Croſſes, his two 'Pillars of Silver, the King's 'Broad Seal of *England*, and his 'Cardinal's Hat, and a Gen- 'tleman carrying his Ballance, 'otherwiſe called his Cloak-bag, 'which was made of fine Scarlet 'all embroidered very richly 'with Gold. Thus he paſſed thro' '*London*, as I ſaid before, and all 'the Way in his Journey he was 'thus furniſhed, having his Har- 'bingers in every Place before, 'which prepared Lodgings for 'him and his ſaid Train.

'The firſt Journey he made 'was two Miles beyond *Dept-* 'ford in *Kent*, unto Sir *Richard* '*Wiltſhere*'s Houſe, the reſt of 'his Train were lodged in '*Deptford*, and in the Country 'thereabouts.

'The next Day he marched 'to *Rocheſter*, where he lay in 'the Biſhop's Palace, and the 'reſt were lodged in the City.

'The third Day he rode from 'thence to *Feverſham*, and there 'lodged in the Abbey, and his 'Train in the Town, and ſome 'about in the Country.

'The fourth Day he rode to '*Canterbury*, where he was kind- 'ly entertained by the Biſhop of 'the City, and there he conti- 'nued

cluded his Speech with ſhewing his Deſire of having their Statutes reduced into better Form; to which he received a moſt reſpectful Anſwer.

This benevolent Motion was gladly entertained, and thereupon Letters were directed to Archbiſhop *Warham*, the Chancellor, to ſignify the Propoſal to his Grace, and acquaint him with the favourable Reception that had been given to it.

The Archbiſhop, in Anſwer to the Univerſity, where he was Reſident at this Time, highly approved and ap-

'nued four or five Days. In 'which Seaſon was the Jubilee, 'and a great Fair in the Town, 'by Reaſon it was the Feaſt of '*St. Thomas* their Patron, upon 'which Day there was a ſolemn 'Proceſſion, wherein my Lord 'Cardinal was in his Legantine 'Ornaments, with his Hat upon 'his Head, who commanded the 'Monks and the Quire to ſing 'the *Latin* after this ſort: *Sancta 'Maria ora pro Papa noſtro cle-'mente*, and in this Manner pe-'ruſed the *Latin* through: My 'Lord Cardinal kneeling at a 'Stool before the Quire-door, 'prepared for him with Car-'pets and Cuſhions: All the 'Monks and the Quire ſtood in 'the Body ſinging the Litany. 'At which time I ſaw my Lord 'Cardinal weep tenderly, the 'which *James*, I, and o-'thers conceived to be for 'Grief, that the Pope was in 'ſuch Calamity and Danger of 'the Lance-knights.

'The next Day I was ſent 'with Letters from my Lord to 'a Cardinal in *Calais* in poſt, 'ſo that I was the ſame Night 'in *Calais*. At my Arrival, I 'found ſtanding upon the *Pier*, 'without the *Lanthorn-gate*, all 'the Council of the Town, to 'whom I delivered up my Meſ-'ſage and my Letters, before I 'entred the Town, where I lay 'until my Lord came thither, 'who arrived two Days after my 'coming thither, before eight of 'the Clock in the Morning, and 'was received of all the noble 'Officers and Council of the 'Town, and the Major of the 'Staple with Proceſſion, the 'Clerks being in rich Copes, 'having many rich Croſſes.

'In the Lanthorn-gate, a 'Stool with Cuſhions and Car-'pets was ſet for him, where he 'kneeled and made his Prayers: 'At which time they fenced him 'in with Seizures of Silver and 'ſprinkled Water; that done, 'they paſſed on before him in 'Proceſſion, until he came un-'to St. *Mary*'s Church, where, 'at the High Altar, turning him-'ſelf to the People, he gave them 'his Benediction and Pardon; 'and then he repaired, with a 'great Number of Noblemen

'and

applauded the Overtures the Cardinal had made for founding new Academical Lectures, yet diſſented from concurring with the Cardinal's Propoſal, relating to the Reformation of the Statutes. But this being no ways pleaſing to the Univerſity, they renewed their Application to him, upon which he complied with their Requeſt.

Warham, in his Letter, ſpeaking of the Homage the Univerſity had made to *Henry* the VIIIth at *Abingdon*, celebrates him as a Prince to whom, in regard

By GEORGE CAVENDISH, *Eſq;*

'and Gentleman, to a Place in 'the Town, called the *Chequer*, 'where he kept his Houſe ſo 'long as he abode in the 'Town, going immediately in- 'to his naked Bed, becauſe he 'was ſomewhat troubled with 'Sickneſs, by Reaſon of his Paſ- 'ſage by Sea.

'That Night he called unto 'him *Monſieur de Bees*, Captain 'of *Bologna*, with divers other 'Gallants and Gentlemen, who 'had dined with him that 'Day, and having ſome further 'Conſultation with my Lord 'Cardinal, he and the reſt of the 'Gentlemen departed again to '*Bologna*.

'Thus my Lord was daily 'viſited with one or other of the '*French* Nobility.

'When all his Train and 'Carriage was landed, and all 'Things prepared for his Jour- 'ney, his Grace called all his 'Noblemen and Gentlemen in- 'to the Privy-chamber, where, 'being aſſembled before him, he 'ſaid,—I have called you hither 'to declare unto you, that I 'would have you both conſider 'the Duty you owe to me, and 'the Good-will I ſemblably bear 'to you for the ſame. Your In- 'tendment of Service is to fur- 'ther the Authority I have by 'Commiſſion from the King, 'which diligent Obſervance of 'yours, I will hereafter recom- 'mend to His Majeſty, as alſo 'to ſhew you the Nature of the '*Frenchmen*, and withal to in- 'ſtruct you with what Reverence 'you ſhall uſe me, for the high 'Honour of the King's Majeſty, 'and to inform you how you 'ſhall entertain and accompany 'the *Frenchmen*, when you meet 'at any time.

Concerning the firſt Point, 'you ſhall underſtand, for divers 'weighty Affairs of his Grace's, 'and for meer Advancement of 'his Royal Dignity, he hath 'aſſigned me in this Journey 'to be his Lieutenant; what 'Reverence therefore belongeth 'to me for the ſame I will 'ſhew you.

'By Virtue therefore of my 'Commiſſion and Lieutenant- 'ſhip, I aſſume, and take upon me 'to be eſteemed, in all Honour

'and

regard to his innate Goodneſs and Generoſity, too great Honours could not be rendered. " And it " muſt, ſays Dr. *Fiddes*, be acknowledged, had he " purſued thoſe Meaſures, or gone forward in thoſe " Paths of Virtue and Glory, for which his Reign " was hitherto, and for ſome time after, juſtly cele- " brated, it had concluded much more to his Honour " and Advantage: But no ſooner did the Perſon, to " whoſe Conduct, Wiſdom, and Fidelity, he owed " ſo much, fall into Diſgrace, but the Luſtre of it " begun

" and Degrees of Service, as un- " to his Highneſs is mete and " due, and that by me nothing " be neglected that to his State " is due and appertinent; for my " Part, you ſhall ſee that I will " not omit one Jot thereof. " Therefore one of your chief " Cauſes of your Aſſembly at " this time, is to inform you, " that you be not ignorant of " your Duty in this; I wiſh you " therefore, as you would have " my Favour, and alſo charge " you all in the King's Name, " that you do not forget the " ſame in Time and Place, but " that every of you do obſerve " his Duty to me, according as " you will at your Return avoid " the King's Indignation, or " deſerve his Highneſs's Thanks; " the which I will ſet forth at " our Return, as each of you ſhall " deſerve.

" Now to the ſecond Point, the " Nature of the *Frenchmen* is ſuch, " that at their firſt Meeting, they " will be as familiar with you " as if they had known you by " long Acquaintance, and will " commune with you in their " *French* Tongue, as if they " knew every Word, therefore " uſe them in a kind Manner, " and be as familiar with them " as they are with you; if they " ſpeak to you in their natural " Tongue, ſpeak to them in " *Engliſh*, for if you underſtand " not them, no more ſhall they " you. Then, ſpeaking merrily " to one of the Gentlemen, being " a *Welſhman*, *Rice*, (quoth he) " ſpeak thou *Welſh* to them, and " doubt not but thy Speech will " be more difficult to them, then " their *French* ſhall be to thee. " Moreover he ſaid unto them all, " Let your Entertainment and Be- " haviour be, according to all " Gentlemen's, in Humility, that " it may be reported, after our " Departure from thence, that " you were Gentlemen of very " good Behaviour and Humility; " that all Men may know, you " underſtand your Duties to your " King, and to your Maſter. " Thus ſhall you not only obtain " to yourſelves great Commen- " dations and Praiſes, but alſo " greatly advance your Prince and " Country.

" Now

" begun ſenſibly to tarniſh, and ſeveral Diſorders " to be committed, ſo well known as to need no " Recital."

On the 1ſt of *June*, in a full Convocation, an ample and ſolemn Decree was paſſed, that the Statutes of the Univerſity ſhould be put into the Cardinal's Hands to be corrected, reformed, changed, or expunged, as he, in his Diſcretion, ſhould think proper.

During the Queen's Stay at *Oxford*, there was nothing wanting in that Univerſity to make it agreeable to

By GEORGE CAVENDISH, *Eſq;*

'Now being admoniſhed of 'theſe Things, prepare your-'ſelves againſt To-morrow, for 'then we purpoſe to ſet forward. 'Therefore we his Servants be-'ing thus inſtructed, and all 'Things being in a Readineſs, 'proceeded forwards the next 'Day, being *Mary Magdalen*'s 'Day. My Lord Cardinal ad-'vanced out of *Calais* with 'ſuch a Number of black Coats 'as hath been ſeldom ſeen, and 'with the Ambaſſador went all 'the Peers of *Calais* and *Guynes*. 'All other Gentlemen, beſides 'thoſe of his Train, were gar-'niſhed with black Velvet Coats 'and Chains of Gold. Thus 'paſſed he forward, with his 'Troop before, three in a Rank, 'which Compaſs extended three 'Quarters of a Mile in Length, 'having his Croſſes, and all 'other his accuſtomed glorious 'Furniture carried before him, 'as I have formerly related, 'except the Broad Seal, the 'which he left with Dr. *Taylor*, 'then Maſter of the Rolls, until 'his Return.

'Thus paſſing on our Way, we 'had ſcarce gone a Mile, but 'it began to rain ſo vehement-'ly, that I have not ſeen the 'like for the time, which en-'dured until we came to *Be-'logna*; and e're we came to '*Standingfield*, the Cardinal of '*Lorrain*, a goodly young Gen-'tleman, gave my Lord a Meet-'ing, and received him with 'much Joy and Reverence, and 'ſo paſſed forth with my Lord 'in Communication, until we 'came near the ſaid *Standing-'field*, which is a religious Place, 'ſtanding between the *Engliſh*, '*French*, and Imperial Domi-'nions, being a Neuter, holding 'of neither of them. Then there 'we waited for my Lord *le 'Count Brian*, Captain of *Pi-'cardy*, with a great Number of 'Stradigatts or Arboncies ſtand-'ing in Array, in a great Piece 'of green Oats, all in Harneſs 'upon Light-horſes, paſſing on 'with my Lord in a Wing 'into *Bologna*, and ſo after 'into *Picardy*; for my Lord 'doubted that the Emperor 'would

to her; and at her Departure both the Scholars and Citizens teſtified, how much they thought both the Seat of Learning and the City were honoured by her ſerene Preſence. Many both of the former and latter attended her to her Royal Conſort, who continued at *Abingdon* till her Return: From whence the Court ſet out for *Windſor*, and from thence to *London*.

The following were the Lectures which the Cardinal ſoon after founded in that noble Univerſity, whereby the Reader will in part ſee the good Uſe he

'would lay ſome Ambuſhment 'to betray him, for which 'Cauſe he commanded them to 'attend my Lord for the Safety 'of his own Perſon, to con-'duct him from the Danger of 'his Enemies.

'Thus rode he accompanied, 'until he came nigh to *Bo-'logna*, within an *Engliſh* Mile, 'where all the worſhipful Citi-'zens of *Bologna* came and met 'him, having a learned Man 'that made an Oration in *Latin* 'to him, unto the which my 'Lord made Anſwer; and that 'done, *Monſieur de Bees*, Cap-'tain of *Bologna*, with his Re-'tinue, met him on Horſe-back 'with all his Aſſembly. Thus 'he marched into the Town, 'lighting at the Abbey-gate, 'from whence he was con-'veyed into the Abbey with 'Proceſſion, and there they pre-'ſented him with the Image of 'our Lady, commonly called 'our Lady of *Bologna*, where 'was always great Offerings: 'That done, he gave his Bleſ-'ſing to the People, with cer-'tain Days of Pardon; then 'went he into the Abbey to his 'Lodging, but all his Train 'were lodged in the high baſe 'Town.

'The next Day, after he had 'heard Maſs, he rode to *Mute-'ril*, where he was in like Man-'ner ſaluted by the Worſhipful 'of the Town all in Livery a-'like, where alſo a learned 'Oration was made to him in '*Latin*, which his Grace an-'ſwered again in *Latin*. And 'as he entred in at the Gate, 'there was a Canopy of Silk 'embroidered with like Letters, 'as his Men had on their Coats, 'and when he was alighted, his 'Footmen had it as due to their 'Office. There was alſo made 'Pageants for Joy of his Com-'ing, who was called in the '*French* Tongue, wherever he 'rode or came, *le Cardinal de 'Patiſagus*, and in Latin, *Car-'dinalis Patiſagus*, who was ac-'companied all that Night with 'the Gentlemen of the Country 'thereabout.

'The next Day he took his 'Journey towards *Abbeville*, 'where he was in like Manner 'enter-

he made of his great Riches, Power, and Authority: And, as ſays the learned Dr. *Fiddes*, " whatever the Perſonal Failings of Cardinal *Wolſey* might " have been in other Reſpects, his Liberality and " Greatneſs of Mind, the Neglect he ſhewed (as per- " haps ſome may term it) of his private Family, to " the End he might employ his immenſe Fortune " towards the Publick Advancement of every Thing " that was laudable and praiſe-worthy, and his En- " couragement to Men of any ſuperior Abilities, " where-

By GEORGE CAVENDISH, *Eſq;*

' entertained, and conveyed into ' the Town, and moſt honourably welcomed with divers ' Kinds of Pageants, both coſtly ' and wittily contrived to every ' Turning of the Streets, as he ' rode through the Town, having a Canopy borne over him, ' richer than at *Muteril*, and ſo ' conveyed him to his Lodging, ' which was a fair Houſe newly ' built with Brick, at which ' Houſe the *French* King *Lewis* ' was married to the King's Sitter, ' which was married after to the ' Duke of *Suffolk*. In this Town ' of *Abbeville* he remained eight ' or nine Days, where reſorted ' unto him divers of the *French* ' King's Council, every Day continually feaſting and entertaining him, and the other Lords.

' At the time of his Departing out of the Town, he rode ' to a Caſtle beyond the Water, ' called by ſome *le Channel Percequeine*, ſtanding and adjoining to the ſaid Water, upon ' a great Hill and Rock, within ' the which there was a College ' of Prieſts; the Situation whereof was much like to the Caſtle ' of *Windſor*, in *England*; and ' there he was received with a ' ſolemn Proceſſion, conveying ' him firſt to the Church, and ' then to the Caſtle upon the ' Bridge over the Water of ' *Some*, where King *Edward* the IVth met with the *French* King, ' as you may read at large in the ' Chronicles of *England*.

' My Lord was no ſooner ' ſeated in his Lodging, but I ' heard, that the *French* King ' would come that Day to the ' City of *Amience*, which was ' not above ſix *Engliſh* Miles ' from thence. And being deſirous to ſee his Coming thither, ' I took with me two of my ' Lord's Gentlemen, and rode ' preſently thither: And, being ' but Strangers, we took up our ' Lodgings at the Sign of the ' *Angel*, directly over-againſt the ' Weſt Door of the Cathedral ' Church *de Noſtre Dame*, where ' we ſtaid in Expectation of ' the King's Coming: And about four of the Clock came ' *Madame Regent*, the King's ' Mother, riding in a very rich ' Chariot, and with her within

" wherever he could find them, will tranſmit his " Name with Honour to Poſterity.* "

Theology. The 1ſt was that of THEOLOGY, whereof one *Bracknell*, an excellent Divine, was the firſt Lecturer, of whom honourable mention is made in an Epiſtle from the Univerſity to the Cardinal, wherein they acquaint his Eminency, that they are not able to expreſs the great Benefit of his Lectures in general, and more particularly of the *Theological*.

2d, Of

The SECRET HISTORY *of the* CARDINAL,

' was the Queen of *Navarre*, her ' Daughter, attended with a ' hundred or more of Ladies and ' Gentlewomen following, every ' one riding upon a white *Pal-* ' *frey*, alſo her *Guard*, which was ' of no ſmall Number. And ' within two Days after the ' King came in with a great ' Shot of Guns, and there was ' divers *Pageants* made only for ' Joy of his Coming, having ' about his Perſon and before ' him a great Number of No- ' blemen and Gentlemen in three ' Companies. The firſt were of ' *Swiſſers* and *Burgonians* with ' Guns; the ſecond were *French-* ' *men* with Bows; the third ' were *le Carpe-fall Scotchmen*, ' who were more comely Perſons ' than all the reſt. The *French* ' Guard and *Scottiſh* had all one ' Livery, being apparelled with ' rich Coats of white Cloth, with ' a rich Guard of ſilver Bullion ' of a handful broad; the King ' came riding on a rich Jennet, ' and did alight at the ſaid great ' Church, and was conveyed ' with Proceſſion to the Biſhop's ' Palace, where he was lodged. ' The next Morning I rode again ' to *Picquony* to attend upon my ' Lord, and when I came my ' Lord was ready to go on Horſe- ' back, to ride towards *Amience*, ' and, paſſing on his Way, he ' was ſaluted by divers noble ' Perſonages, making him Ora- ' tions in *Latin*, to whom my ' Lord made Anſwers *ex tempore*. ' Then was Word brought ' him, that the King was ready ' to meet him, wherefore he had ' no other Shift, but to light ' at an old Chapel that ſtood ' hard by the High-way, and ' there he newly apparelled him- ' ſelf in rich Array; and ſo ' mounted

* If the Rev. Author of the *illuſtrious Lives* had only ſeen theſe few Sentences, one might have expected the Rapidity of his Invective would have flagged a little; though it is but too plain he wrote *off-hand*, (or *without Book*) otherwiſe he might have picked up more ſubſtantial Materials to have adorned his *little* Life of ſo *great* a Man.

2d, Of CIVIL LAW: But who was the firſt Perſon that read this Lecture does not appear. *Civil Law.*

3d, Of PHYSICK. The firſt who diſcharged this Province was *Thomas Muſgrave*, Maſter of Arts. *Phyſick.*

4th, PHYLOSOPHY: Though we know nothing more, concerning the Perſon who was firſt appointed to read this Lecture, than that the initial Letters of his Name were *L. B.* *Philoſophy.*

5th, For

By GEORGE CAVENDISH, *Eſq;*

' mounted again upon another ' Mule, very richly trapped with ' a Foot-cloth of Crimſon Velvet purled with Gold, and ' fringed about the Edges with ' a Fringe of Gold very coſtly, ' his Stirrops of Silver gilt, the ' Boſſes of the ſame, and the ' Checks of his Mule's Bits were ' all gilt with fine Gold; and by ' that time he was mounted again ' in this gorgeous Manner, the ' King was come very near, ' within leſs than an *Engliſh* ' Quarter of a Mile, his Guard ' ſtanding in Array upon the ' Top of an high Hill, expecting ' my Lord's Coming; to whom ' my Lord made as much haſte ' as conveniently he could, until he came within a Pair of ' Butt's Length, and there he ' ſtaid. The King, perceiving ' that, cauſed *Monſieur van de* ' *Mount* to iſſue from him, and ' to ride to my Lord Cardinal, ' to know the Cauſe of his tarrying; and ſo *Monſieur van de* ' *Mount*, being mounted upon a ' very fair Jennet, took his Race ' with his Horſe, till he came ' even to my Lord, and then he ' cauſed his Horſe to come aloft ' twice or thrice ſo near my ' Lord's Mule, that he was in ' Doubt of his Horſe, and ſo ' alighted, and in humble Reverence did his Meſſage to my ' Lord; that done he repaired to ' the King.

' And then the King advanced forwards, ſeeing my Lord ' do the like, and in the Midway they met embracing each ' other with amiable Countenances. Then came into the Place ' all Noblemen and Gentlemen ' on both Parts, who made a ' mighty Preſs.

' Then the King's Officers ' cried, *Penant de la Vant!* ' *March, march!* So the King, ' with the Lord Cardinal on his ' Right-hand, rode towards *Amience*; every *Engliſh* Gentleman being accompanied with ' another of *France*. The Train ' of theſe two great Princes was ' two Miles in Length, that is ' to ſay, from the Place of their ' Meeting unto *Amience*, where ' they were nobly received with ' Guns and Pageants, until the ' King had brought my Lord to

' his

Mathematicks. 5th, For the MATHEMATICKS, one *Richard Crutcher* was the first Reader, of whom we find this Character respecting his Morals and Learning; "*Crutcher* is a Person of so "great Probity and Goodness, that he deserves a bet-"ter Fortune than is common to *Mathematicians*, "and so great a Master of his Art, that he merits "to be called so by way of Eminence and peculiar "Distinction. He was a Native of *Holland*, and edu-"cated in the Colleges of *Wyrtemberg* and *Cologn*."

6th, For

The SECRET HISTORY *of the* CARDINAL,

'his Lodging, and then depart-'ed for that Night. The King 'being lodged in the Bishop's 'Palace: And the next Day 'after Dinner, my Lord rode 'with a great Train of *English* 'Noblemen and Gentlemen un-'to the Court to the King, at 'which time the King kept 'his Bed, yet nevertheless my 'Lord came into his Bed-'chamber, where on the one 'side of the Bed set the King's 'Mother, and on the other side 'the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, ac-'companied with divers other 'Gentlemen of *France*, and af-'ter some Communication, and 'drinking of Wine with the 'King's Mother, my Lord de-'parted and returned to his own 'Lodging, accompanied with 'divers other Lords and Gen-'tlemen.

'Thus continued my Lord at '*Amience*, and also the King 'fourteen Days, feasting each 'other divers times, and there 'one Day at *Mass*, the King 'and my Lord received the *Holy* '*Sacrament*, as also the Queen '*Regent*, and the Queen of *Na-*'*varre*: After that, it was de-'termined, that the King and 'my Lord should remove, and 'so they rode to a City, called '*Campaign*, which was more 'then 20 Miles from *Amience*, 'unto which Town I was sent 'to provide Lodging for my 'Lord; and in my Travel, I 'having Occasion to stay by the 'Way at a little Village, to shoe 'my Horse, there came to me 'a Servant from the Castle, and, 'perceiving me to be an *English-*'*man*, and one of my Lord *Le-*'*gate*'s Servants, (as they then 'called my Lord) desired me to 'go into the Castle, to the Lord 'his Master, whom he thought 'would be very glad to see me. 'To whom I consented, because 'I desired Acquaintance with 'Strangers, especially with Men 'of Authority and honourable 'Rank; so I went with him, 'who conducted me to the Castle, 'and at my first Entrance I was 'among the Watchmen who 'kept the first Ward, being ve-'ry tall Men, and comely Per-'sons, who saluted me very 'kindly; and, knowing the

'Cause

6th, For the GREEK Language. One *Calphurnius*, a Native of *Greece*, was firſt appointed by the Cardinal to this Province, who firſt taught the Pronunciation of that Language in *Oxford*, as it is now read. *Greek.*

7th, For RHETORICK and HUMANITY: *Clement* was the firſt Reader, who was ſucceeded by *Thomas Lupſet*, concerning whom *More* writes to his Friend *Eraſmus*, "That he read in "both Tongues with the greateſt Reputation." *Rhetorick.*

Theſe

By GEORGE CAVENDISH, *Eſq;*

' Cauſe of my coming, they advertiſed their Lord and Maſter, and forthwith the Lord of the Caſtle came out unto me, whoſe Name was Monſieur *Crookeſty*, a Nobleman born; and at his coming he embraced me, ſaying, that I was heartily welcome, and thanked me, that was ſo gentle as to viſit him, and his Caſtle; ſaying, that he was preparing to meet the King, and my Lord Cardinal, and to invite them to his Caſtle; and when he had ſhewed me the Strength of his Caſtle, and the Walls which were fourteen Foot broad, and I had ſeen all the Houſes, he brought me down into a fair inner Court, where his Jennet ſtood ready for him, with 12 other of the faireſt Jennets that ever I ſaw, eſpecially his own which was a Mare; for which Jennet, he told me, he had 400 Crowns offered; upon theſe 12 Jennets were mounted 12 goodly *Gentlemen*, called *Pages of Honour*, they rode all bare-headed, in *Coats* of *Cloth of Gold*, guarded with *black Velvet*, and they had all of them *Boots of red* Spaniſh *Leather*.

' Then took he his Leave of me, commanding his Steward, and other of his Gentlemen, to conduct me to his Lady to Dinner: So they led me up to the Gate-houſe, where then their Lady and Miſtreſs lay, for the Time that the King and the Cardinal ſhould tarry there. And, after a ſhort Time, the Lady *Crookeſty* came out of her Chamber into the Dining-room, where I attended her Coming, who did receive me very nobly, like herſelf, ſhe having a Train of twelve Gentlemen, that did attend on her, Foraſmuch (quoth ſhe) as you are an *Engliſh* Gentleman, whoſe Cuſtom is to kiſs all Ladies and Gentlewomen in your Country without Offence, yet it is not ſo in this Realm; notwithſtanding, I will be ſo bold as to kiſs you, and ſo ſhall you ſalute all my Maids. After this we went to Dinner, being as nobly ſerved as ever I ſaw any in *England*,

' paſſing

Theſe were the munificent Acts of the Cardinal to the Univerſity before the Foundation of his College, for the Advancement of Learning among them; and as it will be but natural for the Reader to enquire, what is become of theſe noble and truly valuable Foundations? this is the Anſwer. "They are "now, alas! (ſays Dr. *Fiddes*) no where to be found, "nor ſo much as the Ruins nor any ſcattered Re- "mains of them, unleſs in the Hands of thoſe Per- "ſons for whom the Profit was leaſt intended by the "Founder.

The SECRET HISTORY *of the* CARDINAL,

paſſing all Dinner-time in pleaſing Diſcourſes.

And ſhortly after Dinner I took my Leave, and was conſtrained that Night to lie ſhort of *Campaign*, at a great walled Town, called *Moundrodrey*, the Suburbs whereof my Lord of *Suffolk* had lately burned; and early in the Morning I came to *Campaign*, being *Saturday*, and Market-day, where at my firſt coming I took up my Inn over-againſt the Market-place, and, being ſet at Dinner in a fair Chamber that looked out into the Street, I heard a great Noiſe and Clattering of Bills; and, looking out, I ſaw the Officers of the Town bringing a Priſoner to Execution, and with a Sword cut off his Head. I demanded what was the Offence? They anſwered me, for killing of Red-Deer in the Foreſt near adjoining. And incontinently they held the poor Man's Head upon a Pole in the Market-place, between the Stag's Horns, and his four Quarters were ſet up in four Places of the Foreſt.

Having prepared my Lord Cardinal's Lodgings in the great Caſtle of the Town, and ſeen it furniſhed, my Lord had the one half aſſigned, and the King the other half, and in like manner they divided the Gallery between them; and in the Midſt thereof there was made a ſtrong Wall with a Window and a Door, where the King and my Lord did often meet and talk, and divers Times go one to the other, through the ſame Door. Alſo there was lodged in the ſame Caſtle Madam *Regent*, the King's Mother, and all the Ladies and Gentlewomen that did attend on her.

Not long after came the Lord Chancellor of *France*, a very witty Man, with all the King's grave Counſellors, where they took great Pains daily in Conſultation. At which Time I heard my Lord Cardinal fall out with the Chancellor of *France*, laying to his Charge, that

" Founder. In ſhort, they were ſwallowed up in the " Ruins of that great Man, and in the Devaſtation " which after his Fall was made of Things appro- " priated to pious Uſes."

The great and magnificent Deſigns of the Cardinal, and the flouriſhing and peaceable Condition the Nation, as well as *Europe*, was now in, *Eraſmus*, in ſeveral of his *Epiſtles*, celebrates, with *Wolſey*, as one of the main Inſtruments of them; who ſaith in his Letter to him; " A very great and ſplendid For- " tune

' that he went about to hinder ' the League, which before his ' Coming was concluded upon, ' by the King our Sovereign ' Lord, and the *French* King ' their Maſter. Inſomuch that ' my Lord ſtomached him ſtout- ' ly, and told him, it was not ' he that ſhould infringe the ' amiable Friendſhip. And if ' the *French* King his Maſter, ' being there preſent, would fol- ' low his, the Chancellor's Coun- ' ſel, he ſhould not fail, ſhortly ' after his Return, to feel the ' Smart, what it was to main- ' tain War againſt the King of ' *England*, and thereof he ſhould ' be well aſſured; inſomuch, ' that his angry Speech, and ' bold Countenance made them ' all doubt how to quiet him to ' the Council, who was then de- ' parted in a great Fury.

' Now here was Sending, here ' was Coming, here was Intreat- ' ing, and here was great Sub- ' miſſion and Interceſſion made ' unto him, to reduce him to ' his former Communication, ' who would in no ways relent, ' until *Madam Regent* came to ' him herſelf, who handled the ' Matter ſo well, that ſhe brought ' him to his former Communica- ' tion, and by that Means he ' brought all Things to paſs, ' that before he could not com- ' paſs, which was more out of ' Fear, than Affection the *French* ' King had to the Matter in ' hand; for now he had got ' the Heads of the Council under ' his Girdle.

' The next Morning after this ' Conflict, the Cardinal aroſe a- ' bout four of the Clock, and ſat ' him down to write Letters in- ' to *England* unto the King; ' commanding one of his Chap- ' lains to prepare himſelf ready; ' inſomuch, that the Chaplain ' ſtood ready in his Veſtures, un- ' til four of the Clock in the ' Afternoon. All which Seaſon ' my Lord never roſe to any ' Meat, but continually writ ' Letters with his own Hand; ' and about four of the Clock in ' the Afternoon he made an end ' of writing, commanding one ' *Chriſtopher Gunner*, the King's ' Serjeant, to prepare himſelf ' without Delay to ride Poſt ' into

" tune uſually raiſes Invidiouſneſs; but the wonder-
" ful Facility of your Manners, ſo conſpicuous and
" known to all Perſons, ſo diſarms Envy itſelf, that
" they do not ſo much conſider the Greatneſs of your
" Fortune, as the native Goodneſs of your Diſpoſi-
" tion."

And this great Maſter, ſpeaking of the Cardinal's moſt ample and uncommon Contributions, towards the Advancement of Learning and the Reformation of Manners, ſays, " The Cardinal of *York* hath ſettled " every

' into *England* with his Letters,
' whom he diſpatched away e're
' ever he drank: That done, he
' went to Maſs and Mattins, and
' other Devotions with his Chap-
' lain, as he was accuſtomed to
' do, and then went to walk in
' a Garden the Space of an Hour
' and more, and then ſaid Even-
' ing Song, and ſo went to Din-
' ner and Supper, making no
' long Stay, and ſo went to Bed.

' The next Night following
' my Lord cauſed a great Sup-
' per to be made, or rather a Ban-
' quet, for Madam Regent, and
' the Queen of *Navarre*, and
' other noble Perſonages, Lords
' and Ladies; at which Supper
' was Madam *Lewis*, one of the
' Daughters of *Lewis* the laſt
' King, whoſe Siſter lately died:
' Theſe two Siſters were of their
' Mother, Inheritors of the
' Dutchy of *Britain*. And for-
' aſmuch as King *Francis* had
' married one of the Siſters, by
' which he had one Moiety of
' the ſaid Dutchy, he kept the
' ſaid Madam *Lewis*, the other
' Siſter, without Marriage, to the
' Intent the whole Dutchy might
' deſcend to him, or his Succeſſors
' after his Death, for lack of
' Iſſue of her.

' But now let us return to the
' Supper or Banquet, where all
' thoſe noble Perſonages were
' highly feaſted; and, at the
' midſt of the ſaid Banquet, the
' *French* King, and the King of
' *Navarre* came ſuddenly in,
' who took their Places in the
' loweſt Part thereof. There was
' not only plenty of fine Meats,
' but alſo much Mirth and So-
' lace, as well in merry Com-
' munication, as alſo the Noiſe
' of my Lord's Muſick, who
' played there all that Night ſo
' cunningly, that the two Kings
' took great Delight therein;
' inſomuch, that the *French* King
' deſired my Lord to lend them
' unto him for the next Night:
' And, after the Supper or Ban-
' quet ended, the Lords fell to
' dancing, amongſt whom one
' Madam *Fountaine* had the
' Praiſe. And thus paſſed they
' the moſt Part of the Night e're
' they parted.

' The next Day the King took
' my Lord's Muſick, and rode

' to

" every Thing in the Republick of Letters upon a " better Footing, encouraging all Perſons by his Li- " berality to be ſtudious." And then he takes Notice of the *Engliſh* Court. " The King's Court is " repleniſhed with a greater Number of learned Men " than any Univerſity." And, in another Letter to Sir *Henry Guilford*, Maſter of the Horſe,* asks this Queſtion, " Where is the School or Monaſtery that " hath at any time produced ſo great a Number of " Men, eminent for their Probity and Learning, as " the preſent Court of *England*?"

Mr.

By GEORGE CAVENDISH, *Eſq*;

' to a Nobleman's Houſe, where ' was ſome living Image, to ' whom he had vowed a Night's ' Pilgrimage; and to perform ' his Devotion when he came ' there (which was in the Night) ' he danced, and cauſed others ' to do the ſame, and the next ' Morning he returned to *Champaign*.

' The King being at *Champaign*, gave Orders that a wild ' Boar ſhould be lodged for him ' in the Foreſt, whither my Lord ' Cardinal went with him to ſee ' him hunt the wild Boar, where ' the Lady Regent, with a Number of Ladies and Damſels were ' ſtanding in Chariots, looking ' upon the Toil; amongſt theſe ' Ladies ſtood my Lord Cardinal, to regard the Hunting, ' in the Lady Regent's Chariot; ' and within the Toil was the ' King with divers Ladies of ' *France*, ready furniſhed for the ' high and dangerous Enterprize ' of hunting of this perilous ' wild Swine.

' The King being in his ' Doublet and Hoſe, all of ' Sheep's Colour Cloth, richly ' trimmed, and in his Slip a Brace ' of very great Greyhounds, ' who were armed as their Manner there is, to defend them ' from the Violence of the Beaſt's ' Tuſks; and the reſt of the ' King's Gentlemen that were ' appointed to hunt, were likewiſe in their Doublets and ' Hoſe, holding each of them a ' very

* This Office, of high Account, is always given to ſome Nobleman of great Merit; and the preſent Poſſeſſor of it is the moſt Noble *Charles Lenox*, Duke of *Richmond*, &c. He has the Rule and Charge of all the King's Stables, Race and Breeding Horſes, who has not only the Privilege of applying to his own Uſe ſome of the King's Liverymen, but is allowed one Coachman, four Footmen, and ſix Grooms, under the King's Pay, to attend his Service; and, in any ſolemn Cavalcade, he rides next behind the King, and leads a Horſe of State.

Mr. *Strype* (in his *Eccles. Mem.* p. 34.) obſerves, "That the Nation, at that Time, was noted abroad "for Learning and learned Men, wherewith it was "repleniſhed, as was the Council and the King him-"ſelf renowned, not only for that Accompliſhment, "but for his ſharp Wit and Parts; which likewiſe "muſt be attributed chiefly to the Cardinal's Influ-"ence, and Encouragement, and Furtherance of good "Studies."

Thoſe whom *Eraſmus* makes honourable Mention of

' very ſharp Boar's Spear; then ' the King commanded the ' Keepers to uncouch the Boar, ' and that every Perſon within ' the Toil ſhould go to a Stand-' ing, amongſt whom were di-' vers Gentlemen of *England*.

' The Boar preſently iſſued ' out of his Den, and, being pur-' ſued by a Hound, came into ' the Plain, where he ſtaid a ' while gazing upon the People, ' and, the Hound drawing near ' him, he eſpied a Buſh upon a ' Bank; under the Buſh lay ' two *Frenchmen*, who fled thi-' ther, thinking there to be ſafe; ' but the Boar ſmelling them, ' and thruſting his Head into ' the Buſh, theſe two Men came ' away from thence, as Men uſe ' to fly from the Danger of ' Death.

' Then was the Boar, by Vio-' lence of the Hunters, driven ' from thence, who ran ſtreight ' to one of my Lord's Footmen, ' being a very tall Man, who ' had in his Hand an *Engliſh* ' Javelin, with which he defend-' ed himſelf a great while; but ' the Boar continued foaming at ' him with his great Tusks: At ' the laſt the Boar broke in ſun-' der his Javelin, ſo that he was ' glad to draw his Sword, and ' therewith ſtood upon his Guard ' until the Hunters came and ' reſcued him, and put the Boar ' once again to Flight to another ' Gentleman of *England*, one Mr. ' *Ratcliffe*, who was Son and ' Heir to the Lord *Fitzwalter*, ' now Earl of *Suſſex*, who by his ' Boar's Spear reſcued himſelf. ' There were many other Paſ-' ſages, but I forbear Prolixity, ' and return to the Matter in ' hand.

' Many Days were ſpent in ' Conſultation, and Expectation ' of *Chriſtopher Gunner*'s Return, ' who was formerly ſent poſt into ' *England* with Letters, as I ſaid ' before. At laſt he returned ' with Letters; upon Receipt ' whereof my Lord prepared, ' with all Expedition, to return ' to *England*.

' That Morning that my Lord ' intended to remove, being at ' Maſs in his Cloſet, he conſe-' crated the Chancellor of *France* ' a Cardinal, and put his Hat

of (tho' without doubt there were many other worthy Characters in the *Engliſh* Court, that he was a Stranger to) were,

The *King*,
The *Queen*,
Cardinal *Wolſey*,
Warham, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*,
Fiſher, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*,
Tunſtal, afterwards Biſhop of *London*,
Fox, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*,
The Lord *Montjoy*, Steward of the Queen's Houſhold,

Sir

By GEORGE CAVENDISH, *Eſq;*

• on his Head, and his Cap of
• Scarlet, and then took his
• Journey, and returned into *Eng-*
• *land* with all the Expedition he
• could, and came to *Sayve*, and
• was there nobly entertained
• of my Lord *Staves*, who was
• Captain of that Place, and
• from thence went to *Calais*,
• where he ſtaid a while for
• ſhipping of his Goods; and in
• the mean time he eſtabliſhed
• a Work, what was it? to be
• there kept for all Nations; but
• how long, or in what ſort it con-
• tinued, I know not; for I never
• heard of any great Good it did,
• or of any Aſſembly of Merchants,
• or Traffick of Merchandize,
• that were brought thither for
• ſo great and mighty a Matter,
• as was intended for the Good
• of the Town. This being
• eſtabliſhed, he took Shipping
• for *Dover*, and from thence
• rode poſt to Court.

• The King being then in his
• Progreſs at Sir *Henry Wyat*'s
• Houſe in *Kent*, of whom I and
• another of his Servants thought
• we ſhould have been nobly en-
• tertained, as well of the King
• himſelf as of his Nobles; but
• we were all deceived in our
• Expectations: Notwithſtand-
• ing, he went immediately to
• the King after his Return,
• with whom he had long Talk,
• and continued two or three
• Days after in the Court, and
• then retired to his Houſe at
• *Weſtminſter*, where he remain-
• ed till *Michaelmas* Term, which
• was within a Fortnight after,
• and there he exerciſed his Place
• of Chancellorſhip, as he had
• done before.

• And, immediately after the
• Beginning of the Term, he
• cauſed to be aſſembled in the
• Star-chamber all the Noble-
• men, Judges and Juſtices of the
• Peace of every Shire through-
• out *England*, and were at *Weſt-*
• *minſter-hall* then preſent, and
• there he made a long Oration,
• declaring the Cauſe of his Am-
• baſſage into *France*, and of his
• Proceedings therein, ſaying,
• That he had concluded ſuch an
• Amity and Peace, as never was
• heard of in this Realm, be-
• tween our Sovereign Lord the
• King's Majeſty, the Emperor,

• and

Sir *Thomas More*,
Pace, chief Secretary,*
Sir *Henry Lynacre*, Physician to the King,
Stokesley and *Collet*, both Chaplains to the King,
Lilly, First Master of St. *Paul*'s School.

Erasmus wrote to the King a most excellent Letter in *Latin*, wherein he celebrates the Grandeur of the Court, and the happy Condition of *England* and Foreign Affairs, thro' her Influence, which induces us here to present the Reader with a Translation from the Original, as follows:

ERAS-

The SECRET HISTORY *of the* CARDINAL,

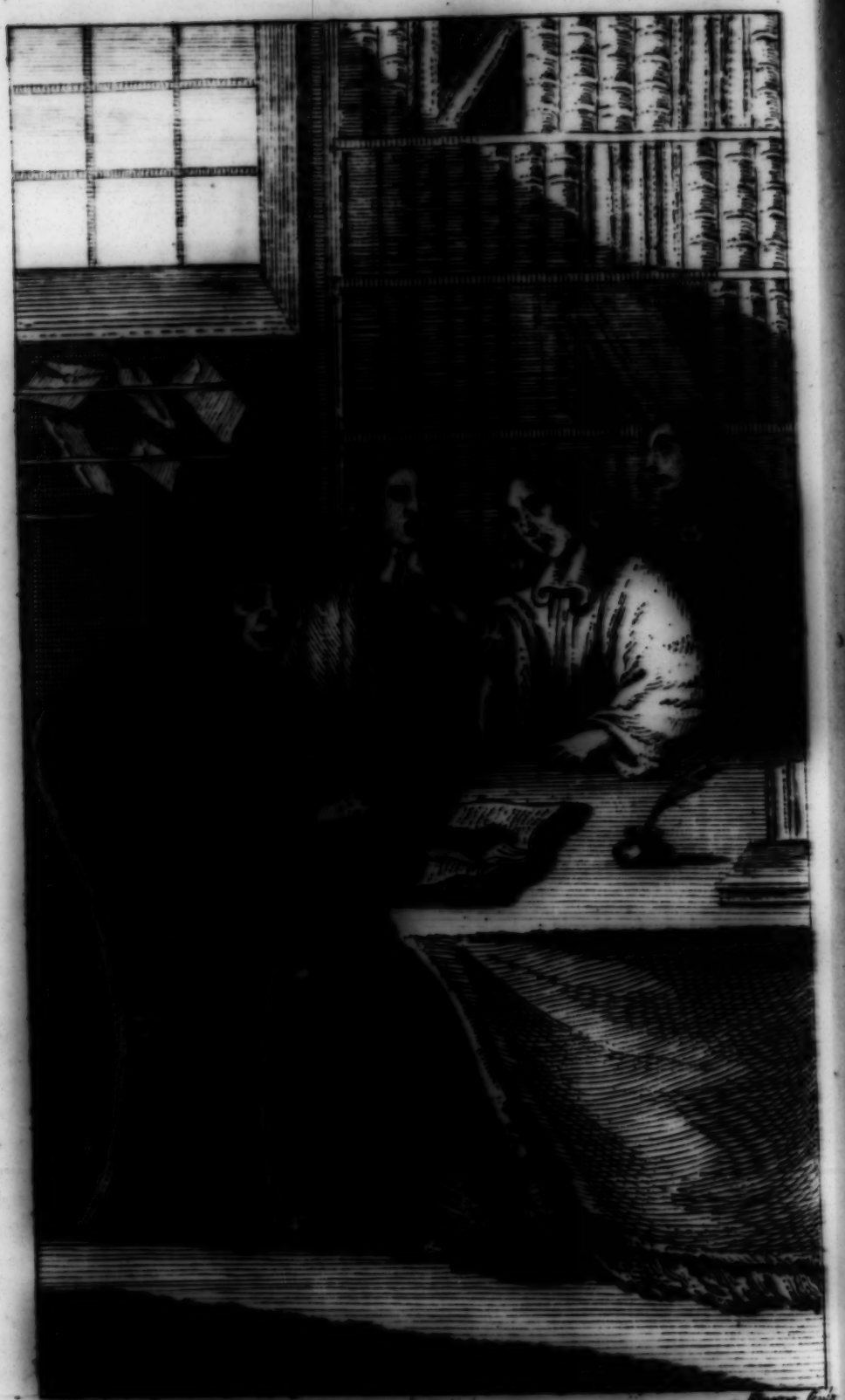
'and the *French* King, for a perpetual Peace, which shall be confirmed in Writing, under the Seals of both Realms, engraven in Gold; offering further, that our King should receive yearly by that Means, out of the Dutchy of *Normandy*, all the Charges and Losses he had sustained in the Wars.

'And also, forasmuch as there was a Restraint made of the *French* Queen's Dowry (whom the Duke of *Suffolk* had married) for many Years together, during the War, it was concluded, that she should not only receive the same, according to her just Right; but also the Arrearages, being unpaid during

* At this Time there are three Secretaries of State; two for that Part of *Great Britain* called *England*, *viz.* his Grace *Thomas* Duke of *Newcastle*, and the Right Honourable *John* Lord *Carteret*, and the third for *Scotland*, the Right Honourable the Marquess of *Tweedale*. But till about the latter End of King *Henry* the VIIIth's Reign there was but one, who, taking into Consideration the Importance of this great and weighty Office, thought proper to have it executed by two Persons, to whom he gave an equal Authority.

In that Prince's Reign, and for some Time after, they sate not at the Council-board; but, having prepared their Business in an adjoining Room to the Council-chamber, they were admitted to stand by the King, and nothing was debated at the Table before the Secretaries had gone thro' with their Proposals: But this was afterwards changed in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, who, seldom coming to Council, appointed her Secretaries of State to take their Places at the Board, as Privy Counsellors. See *Wood*'s *Inst.* p. 458.

It is said a *Secretary of State* hath Power to commit Criminals for Treason, *&c.* as Conservators of the Peace, and to his Custody is entrusted the King's Privy Signet, because the King's private Letters are signed with it; to which belongs four Clerks, and is called the *Signet-Office*.



ERASMUS *with his three Friends*
S^r. Thomas Moore, D^r. Colet & Ammonius.

ERASMUS's *Letter to* HENRY the VIIIth.

" IN like Manner, as this inferior World, Moſt Se-
" rene King, depends on the celeſtial Bodies, and
" eſpecially on thoſe which are the moſt diſtinguiſhed
" and excellent among them; ſo the State of a Peo-
" ple and publick Affairs depends on Princes, and
" thoſe particularly the chief and moſt powerful Mo-
" narchs, according to whoſe Diſpoſitions and Coun-
" ſels, Manners and Affections, Friendſhips and Quar-
" rels, the Condition of their People is frequently
" changed;

By GEORGE CAVENDISH, *Eſq;*

' ing the ſaid Reſtraint, ſhould
' be perfected ſhortly after. The
' Reſort of Ambaſſadors out of
' *France* ſhould be ſuch a great
' Number of Noblemen and
' Gentlemen to confirm the ſame,
' as hath not been ſeen hereto-
' fore, to repair hither out of
' one Realm.

' This Peace thus concluded,
' there ſhall be ſuch an Amity be-
' tween them of each Realm, and
' Intercourſe of Merchandiſe,
' that it ſhall be ſeen to all Men
' to be but one Monarchy. Gen-
' tlemen and others may travel
' from one Country to another
' for their Recreation and Plea-
' ſure; and Merchants of either
' Country may Traffick ſafely
' without Fear of Danger; ſo
' that this Realm ſhall ever after
' flouriſh.

' Therefore, may all *Engliſh-*
' *men* well rejoice, and ſet forth
' the Truth of this Ambaſſy in
' the Country. Now, my Ma-
' ſters, I beſeech you, and re-
' quire you in the King's Be-
' half, that you ſhew yourſelves
' as loving and obedient Subjects,
' in whom the King may much
' rejoice, *&c.* And ſo he end-
' ed his Oration, and brake up
' the Court for that Time.

CHAP. XIV.

Of the French *Ambaſſadors Entertainment, and Diſpatch.*

' NOW the great long-
' looked-for Ambaſſadors
' are arrived, being in Number
' eight Perſons, of the nobleſt
' and moſt worthy Gentlemen
' in all *France*, who were nobly
' received from Place to Place,
' and ſo conveyed through *Lon-*
' *don*, to the Biſhop's Palace in
' St. *Paul*'s Church-yard, where
' they were lodged, to whom
' divers Noblemen reſorted, and
' gave them noble Preſents (e-
' ſpecially the Mayor of *London*)
' as Wines, Sugars, Beefs, Mut-
' tons, Capons, Wild Fowl, Wax,
' and other neceſſary Things in
' abundance for the Expences of
' their Houſe.

' They reſorted to the Court,
' being

" changed; as the Sea is by the Courſe of the " Moon, when, with reciprocal Tides, it ebbs and " flows, ſwells and decreaſes; or, as the Earth by " the ſurpriſingly different Motions of the Sun, " being now vernant with Flowers, now gaping with " ſcorching Heat, now loaden with Fruits, now ſtif- " fened with Froſt: Moreover, as the Will and Diſ- " poſitions of the People depend upon thoſe of the " Prince, ſo, according to the Apothegm of the " wiſe Man, *He knew the Heart of the King is in* " *the*

' being then at *Greenwich*, on ' *Sunday*, and were received of ' the King's Majeſty, of whom ' they were entertained highly.

' They had a Commiſſion to ' eſtabliſh our King's Highneſs ' in the Order of *France*, to ' whom they brought for that ' Intent a Collar of fine Gold, ' with a *Michael* hanging thereat, ' and Robes, to the ſaid Order ' appertaining, which were of ' blew Velvet, and richly em- ' broidered, wherein I ſaw the ' King paſs to the Cloſet, and ' after in the ſame to Maſs.

' And, to gratify the *French* ' King for his great Honour, he ' ſent incontinently Noblemen ' here in *England*, of the Order ' of the Garter, which Garter ' the Herald carried into *France* ' unto the *French* King, to eſta- ' bliſh him in the Order of the ' Garter, with a rich Collar and ' Garter, and Robes according ' to the ſame: The *French* Am- ' baſſadors ſtill remaining here, ' until the return of the *Eng- ' liſh*.

' All Things being then de- ' termined and concluded con- ' cerning the perpetual Peace, ' upon ſolemn Ceremonies and ' Oaths contained in certain In- ' ſtruments concerning the ſame, ' it was concluded there ſhould ' be a ſolemn Maſs ſung in the ' Cathedral Church of St. *Paul's* ' in *London*, by the Cardinal; ' the King being preſent at the ' ſame in his Traverſe to perform ' all Things determined.

' And for the Preparation ' thereof, there was a Gallery, ' from the Weſt Door of *Paul's* ' Church through the Body of ' the ſame up to the Quire, and ' ſo to the High-altar, into ' the Traverſe. My Lord Car- ' dinal prepared himſelf to ſing ' the Maſs, aſſociated with 24 ' Mitres of Biſhops and Abbots, ' who attended him with ſuch ' Ceremonies as to him were then ' due, by reaſon of his Legatine ' Prerogative.

' And, after the laſt *Agnus*, ' the King roſe out of the Tra- ' verſe, and kneeled upon a Car- ' pet and Cuſhions before the ' High-altar, and the like did ' the Great Maſter of *France*, ' chief Ambaſſador, that here

' repre-

" *the Hand of God*; who, as he is often provoked " with the Vices of Men, gives ſometimes, accord- " ing to what *Iſaiah* obſerves, *Children to be their* " *Princes, and Babes to rule over them*; *and*, accord- " ing to *Job*'s Opinion, *ſuffers the Hypocrite to hold* " *the Reins of Government*. But the Perſon, whom " he calls an Hypocrite, is one who is a King by " Name, but in his Actions a Tyrant and a Robber.

" Again, if at any time God is pleaſed to teſtify " himſelf to be propitious and gracious to his Peo- " ple,

By GEORGE CAVENDISH, *Eſq*;

' repreſented the King's Perſon of ' *France*, between whom the ' Lord Cardinal divided the ' bleſſed Sacrament, as a perfect ' Oath and Bond for Security of ' the ſaid Covenants, of the ſaid ' perpetual Peace.

' That done, the King went ' again into the Traverſe, this ' Maſs being ended, which was ' ſolemnly ſung both by the Quire ' of the ſame Church, and all ' the King's Chapel.

' Then my Lord took and ' read the Articles of Peace ' openly before the King and ' all other, both *Engliſh* and ' *French*, and there, in ſight of ' all the People, the King put ' his Hand to the Gold Seal, ' and ſubſcribed with his own ' Hand, and delivered the ſame ' to the Grand Maſter of *France*, ' as his Deed, who ſemblably ' did the like. That done, they ' departed and rode Home with ' the Cardinal, and dined with ' him, paſſing all the Day after ' in Conſultation of weighty ' Affairs, touching the Articles ' and Concluſion of the ſaid ' Peace.

' Then the King departed to ' *Greenwich* by Water, at whoſe ' Departure it was concluded by ' the King's Device, that all ' the *Frenchmen* ſhould remove ' to *Richmond* and hunt there: ' And from thence to *Hamp-* ' *ton* Court, and there to hunt ' likewiſe: And the Lord Car- ' dinal there to make a Ban- ' quet or Supper, or both: And ' from thence they ſhould ride ' to *Windſor*, and there hunt: ' And after return to the King ' at *Greenwich*, and there to ' Banquet with him before their ' Departure.

' This determined, they all ' repaired to their Lodgings; ' then was there no more to do, ' but to make Preparation in all ' Things for the Entertainment ' of this great Aſſembly at *Hamp-* ' *ton-court*, at the Time appoint- ' ed by my Lord Cardinal, who ' called before him all his chief ' Officers, as Stewards, Trea- ' ſurers, Clerks, and Comptrol- ' lers of his Kitchen, to whom ' he declared his whole Mind, ' touching the Entertainment of ' the *Frenchmen* at *Hampton-court*,

" ple, then it is he infuſes a Spirit into Princes, " which makes them worthy to have a Kingdom to " govern: And from this Obſervation, I think, it " may be fairly concluded, that the Eternal Deity " is at length, after ſo many Storms of Evils, per- " fectly reconciled to us, becauſe he has given ſuch " Diſpoſitions to the moſt excellent Princes now " reigning, that nothing is more their Pleaſure, than " ſuch Things as promote Peace and Piety, and " the good and Benefit of their Subjects. And, " though

' to whom he alſo gave Com-
' mand, neither to ſpare for any
' Coſt or Expences, nor Pains,
' to make them ſuch a trium-
' phant Banquet, as they may
' not only wonder at it here,
' but alſo make a glorious Report
' to the great Honour of our
' King and this Realm.

' Thus having made known
' his Pleaſure, to accompliſh his
' Commandment, they ſent out
' all the Carriers, Purveyers, and
' other Perſons to my Lord's
' Friends to prepare: Alſo they
' ſent to all expert Cooks, and
' cunning Perſons in the Art
' of Cookery, in *London* or elſe-
' where, that they might be
' gotten to beautify the noble
' Feaſt.

' Then the Purveyer provid-
' ed, and my Lord's Friends ſent
' in ſuch Proviſion that it was
' a Wonder to ſee it.

' The Cooks they wrought
' both Day and Night in many
' curious Devices, where was no
' lack of Gold, Silver, or any
' other coſtly Thing: The Yeo-
' men and Grooms of his Ward-
' robe were buſied in hanging
' the Chambers with coſtly
' Hangings, and furniſhed the
' ſame with Beds of Silk, and
' other Furniture for the ſame
' in every Degree.

' Then my Lord ſent me,
' being his *Gentleman-uſher*,
' and two other of my Fellows,
' to overſee all Things touch-
' ing our Rooms to be richly
' garniſhed, wherein our Pains
' was not ſmall; but daily we
' travelled up and down, from
' Chamber to Chamber, to ſee
' Things fitted.

' Then wrought Joiners, Car-
' penters, Painters, and other
' Artificers needful, that there
' was nothing wanting to adorn
' this noble Feaſt: There was
' Carriage and Re-carriage of
' Plate, Stuff, and other rich
' Impliments, ſo that there was
' nothing lacking, that could be
' deviſed or imagined for the
' Purpoſe. There were alſo pro-
' vided two hundred and eighty
' Beds, with all Manner of Fur-
' niture to them, too long here
' to be related.

' The Day aſſigned to the
' *Frenchmen* being come, they

' were

" though ſuch a Diſpoſition as this was always in
" your Majeſty, yet it has been obſtructed by publick
" Diſturbances; and now, that the Times are more
" favourable, you not only deſign what is beſt, but
" you *are doing* what your Spirit, truly Royal, long
" ſince intended to accompliſh.

" But, though many eminent Princes contend to
" have a Share with you in the ſame Praiſe, as *Leo*
" the *Roman* Pontiff, *Francis* the King of the *Gauls*,
" his *Catholick* Majeſty *Charles*, and *James* the moſt
" Serene

By GEORGE CAVENDISH, *Eſq;*

' were ready aſſembled before
' the Hour of their Appoint-
' ment, wherefore the Officers
' cauſed them to ride to *Han-*
' *worth*, a Park of the King's
' within three Miles of *Hamp-*
' *ton-court*, there to ſpend the
' Time in hunting till Night,
' which they did, and then re-
' turned, and every of them
' were conveyed to their ſeve-
' ral Chambers, having in them
' good Fires and Store of Wine,
' where they remained till Sup-
' per was ready.

' The Chambers, where they
' ſupped and banquetted, were
' adorned thus:

' Firſt, the great Waiting
' Chamber was hung with very
' rich Cloth of *Arras*, and ſo
' all the reſt, ſome better than
' others, and furniſhed with tall
' Yeomen to ſerve. There were
' ſet Tables round about the
' Chambers Banquet-wiſe cover-
' ed: Alſo a Cupboard garniſhed
' with white Plate; having alſo
' in the ſame Chamber four great
' Plates to give the more Light,
' ſet with great Lights, and a
' great Fire of Wood and Coals.

' The next Chamber was the
' Chamber of Preſence, richly
' hanged alſo with Cloth of *Ar-*
' *ras*, and a ſumptuous Cloth
' of State, furniſhed with many
' goodly Gentlemen to ſerve.
' The Tables were ordered in
' Manner as the other were,
' ſave only the high Table was
' removed beneath the Cloth of
' State, towards the Midſt of
' the Chamber with ſix Deſks
' of Plate, garniſhed all over
' with fine Gold, ſaving one
' Pair of Candleſticks of Silver
' and gilt, with Lights in the
' ſame. The Cupboard was barred
' about that no Man could come
' very near it, for there were
' divers Pieces of great Store of
' Plate to uſe; beſides, the Plates,
' that hung on the Walls to
' give Light, were Silver and
' gilt, filled with Wax-lights.

' Now all Things being in
' Readineſs, and Supper ſet, the
' principal Officers cauſed the
' Trumpets to blow, to warn
' them to Supper. The Officers
' conducted the Noblemen where
' they were to ſup, and they
' being ſet, Service came up in

" Serene King of the *Scots*, yet your Majeſty, in my " Opinion, in this Reſpect, deſerves the principal " Share of this Glory; becauſe it was chiefly by " your Conduct, Perſuaſion, and Prudence, this Af- " fair was begun and executed. For when the Pope " of *Rome*, otherwiſe very deſirous of Peace, was " tranſacting a Truce between ſome Princes for five " Years, your Highneſs brought about a Peace, " which we hope will be of laſting Duration, among " ſo many of the moſt powerful Princes of the " World,

' ſuch Abundance, both coſtly ' and full of Devices, with ſuch ' a pleaſant Noiſe of Muſick, ' that the *Frenchmen* (as it ſeem- ' ed) were wrapt up in a hea- ' venly Paradiſe. You muſt un- ' derſtand, that my Lord Car- ' dinal was not there all this ' while. But the *French Mon- ' ſieurs* were very merry, with ' their rich fair and curious ' Cates and Knacks. But, be- ' fore the ſecond Courſe, my ' Lord Cardinal came in booted ' and ſpurred ſuddenly amongſt ' them, at whoſe Coming there ' was great Joy, every Man ' riſing from his Place, whom ' my Lord Cardinal cauſed to ' ſit ſtill and keep their Places, ' and, being in his Riding Ap- ' parel, called for his Chair, and ' ſat him down in the Midſt of ' the high Table, and was there ' as merry and pleaſant as ever I ' ſaw him in my Life.

Preſently after came up the ' ſecond Courſe, which was a- ' bove one hundred ſeveral De- ' vices, which were ſo good- ' ly and coſtly, that I think ' the *Frenchmen* never ſaw the ' like.

' But the rareſt Curioſity of ' all the reſt, they all wondred ' at, (which indeed was worthy ' Wonder) were Caſtles, with ' Images in the ſame, like St. ' *Paul*'s Church for the Model ' of it, where were Beaſts, Birds, ' Fowls, Perſonages moſt excel- ' lently made, ſome fighting with ' Swords, ſome with Guns, other ' with Croſbows, ſome dancing ' with Ladies, ſome on Horſe- ' back with compleat Armour, ' juſtling with long and ſharp ' Spears, and many other ſtrange ' Devices, which I cannot de- ' ſcribe: Amongſt all, I no- ' ted, there was a Cheſs-board ' made of Spice-plate, with Men ' of the ſame, and of good Pro- ' portion.

' And, becauſe the *Frenchmen* ' are very expert at that Sport, ' my Lord Cardinal gave that ' ſame to a *French* Gentleman, ' commanding that there ſhould ' be made a good Caſe to con- ' vey the ſame into his Coun- ' try.

' Then called my Lord for a ' great Bowl of Gold filled with ' *Hipocras*, and, putting off his

' Cap,

" World, now united together by the firmeſt and " cloſeſt Treaties. How truly Royal is your Breaſt! " how ſublime your Mind! and in an extraordinary " Manner worthy a Chriſtian Monarch! For, when no " Prince was better qualified to go to War, than your " Majeſty, your whole Study and Endeavours " tended to the Reſtoration of the general Peace; you " prudently ſaw how pernicious it was for *Chriſtians* " to be plundering and fighting one with another, " and that nothing could make *Chriſtendom* appear " more

By GEORGE CAVENDISH, *Eſq;*

' Cup, ſaid, *I drink a Health* ' *to the King my Sovereign* ' *Lord, and next unto the King* ' *your Maſter*; and when he had ' drank a hearty Draught, he ' deſired the Grand Maſter to ' pledge him a Cup, which Cup ' was worth 500 Marks; and ' ſo all the Lords in order pledg- ' ed theſe great Princes.

' Then went the Cup merrily ' about, ſo that many of the ' *Frenchmen* were led to their ' Beds; then went my Lord into ' his Privy-Chamber, making a ' ſhort Supper, or rather a ſhort ' Repaſt, and then returned a- ' gain into the Preſence-cham- ' ber amongſt the *Frenchmen*, ' behaving himſelf in ſuch a ' loving ſort, and ſo familiarly ' towards them, that they could ' not ſufficiently commend him.

' And while they were in ' Communication and Paſtime, ' all their Livery were ſerved to ' their Chambers, every Cham- ' ber had a Baſon and Ewer of ' Silver, and a great Livery- ' pot with plenty of Wine, and ' ſufficient of every thing.

' Thus furniſhed was every ' Room about the Houſe. When ' all was done, then were they ' conducted to their Lodgings.

' In the Morning after they ' had heard Maſs, they ſtaid ' and dined with my Lord, and ' ſo departed towards *Windſor*; ' and, as ſoon as they were gone, ' my Lord returned to *London*, ' becauſe it was the Midſt of the ' Term.

' You muſt conceive the King ' was privy to this magnificent ' Feaſt, who then intended far ' to exceed the ſame; which I ' refer to the *Frenchmen*'s Return.

' Now the King had given ' Command to his Officers, to ' provide a far more ſumptuous ' Banquet for the Strangers, than ' they had at the Cardinal's, ' which was not neglected. Af- ' ter the Return of theſe Strang- ' ers from *Windſor*, which Place ' they much commended for the ' Situation thereof, the King in- ' vited them to the Court, where ' they dined; and after Dinner ' they danced, and had their ' Paſtime till Supper-time.

' Then was the Banquet- ' Chamber, in the little Yard at

' *Green-*

" more formidable to the Enemies of our Faith, than " Harmony and Concord among the Chriſtian Princes " and People. And this excellent Diſpoſition did " not appear in you for a Time only, but it was tho- " roughly ingrafted in your Nature; of which your " Conduct in the *French* War is a ſufficient Proof, " ſince as it was with Reluctance, ſo it was for the " Sake of Chriſtian Piety that you engaged in it, " wherein you behaved yourſelf with ſo much Civi- " lity and Clemency, that it was very evident you " had

' *Greenwich*, furniſhed for the ' Entertainment of theſe Strang- ' ers; to which Place they were ' conducted by the greateſt Per- ' ſonages then being in the Court, ' where they did both ſup and ' banquet; but to deſcribe to ' you the Order hereof, the Va- ' riety of coſtly Diſhes, and the ' curious Devices, my weak A- ' bility and ſhallow Capacity ' would much eclipſe the Mag- ' nificence thereof. But thus ' much take Notice of, that al- ' though that Banquet at *Hamp- ' ton-court* was marvellous ſump- ' tuous; yet this Banquet ex- ' celled the ſame as much, as ' Gold doth Silver in value; ' and, for my Part, I never ſaw ' the like.

' In the midſt of the Banquet, ' there was Turning at the Bar- ' riers of luſty Gentlemen in ' compleat Armour very gorge- ' ous on Foot, and the like on ' Horſe-back: And, after all ' this, there was ſuch an excel- ' lent Interlude made in *Latin*, ' that I never ſaw nor heard the ' like; the Actors Apparel be- ' ing ſo gorgeous, and of ſuch ' ſtrange Devices, that it paſſeth ' my poor Capacity to relate ' them.

' This being ended, there ' came a great Company of La- ' dies and Gentlewomen, the ' chiefeſt Beauties in the Realm ' of *England*, being as richly at- ' tired as Coſt could make, or ' Art deviſe, to ſet forth their ' Geſtures, Proportions, or Beau- ' ties, that they ſeemed to the ' Beholder rather like Celeſtial ' Angels, than Terreſtrial Crea- ' tures; and, in my Judgment, ' worthy of Admiration, with ' whom the Gentlemen of *France* ' danced and masked, every Man ' chuſing his Lady as his Fancy ' ſerved. That done, and the ' Maſkers departed, came in ano- ' ther Maſk of Ladies and Gen- ' tlewomen ſo richly attired, as ' I cannot expreſs: Theſe La- ' dies Maſkers took each of them ' one of the *Frenchmen* to dance. ' And here note, that theſe No- ' blewomen ſpoke all of them ' good *French*, which delighted ' them much to hear the Ladies ' ſpeak to them in their own ' Language.

' The-

" had a greater Inclination to Peace, had not the " Danger of the whole World, and of the Chriſtian " Church in particular, called you (or, as I ſhould ra- " ther ſay, compelled) to take Arms: Nor yet con- " tented with having done ſo far, you make it your " Study to adorn that Peace which you have procu- " red by your own Prudence, and your own Autho- " rity, with the Arts and Advantages that ought to " accompany it, that it might not be attended with " Sloth and Inactivity, or become the Miſtreſs of " Luxury and unlawful Pleaſures. The Robberies,

" which

By GEORGE CAVENDISH, *Eſq;*

' Thus triumphantly did they ' ſpend the whole Night, from ' five of the Clock at Night, ' unto two or three of the ' Clock in the Morning; at ' which Time the Gallants drew ' all to their Lodgings to take ' their Reſt.

' As neither Health, Wealth, ' nor Pleaſure can always laſt, ' ſo ended this triumphant Ban- ' quet, which, being paſt, ſeemed ' in the Morning to the Behold- ' ers as a fantaſtick Dream.

' Now, after all this ſolemn ' Banquetting, they prepared with ' Bag and Baggage to return, ' and thereupon repaired to the ' King, and in Order every Man ' took his Leave of his Majeſty ' and the Nobles, by whom the ' King ſent his princely Plea- ' ſure and Commendations to ' the King their Maſter, thank- ' ing them for their Pains: And, ' after great Communication had ' with the Great Maſter of that ' Ambaſſage, he bad them *A-* ' *dieu.*

' Then they came to *Weſtmin-* ' *ſter* to my Lord Cardinal to do ' the like, of whom they receiv- ' ed the King's Reward, which I ' ſhall hereafter relate.

' Firſt, every Man of Ho- ' nour and Eſtimation had Plate, ' ſome to the Value of 2 or 300 ' Pounds, and ſome of 400 ' Pounds, beſides the great Gifts ' before received of his Majeſty. ' as Gowns of Velvet with rich ' Furs, great Chains of Gold; ' and ſome had goodly Horſes ' of great Value, with divers ' other Gifts of great Value, ' which I cannot call to Re- ' membrance; but the worſt of ' them had the Sum of twenty ' Crowns: And thus being nobly ' rewarded, my Lord, after hum- ' ble Commendations to the ' *French* King, bad them *Fare-* ' *well:* And ſo they departed.

' The next Day they were ' conveyed to *Dover* to the Sea- ' ſide, with all their Furniture, ' being accompanied with many ' *Engliſh* young Gallants; but ' what Report of their Royal ' Entertainment, they made in ' their own Country, I never ' heard.'

" which one was expoſed to before in almoſt every " Place, you have reſtrained with an admirable Seve- " rity.

" You put Offenders to Flight, and rid your Do- " minions of idle Vagrants. To good Laws you give " their proper Vigour; you repeal the uſeleſs, and " enact wholeſome ones; you advance the Study of " the beſt Learning; you reſtore religious Diſcipline " among all, but in a particular manner among the " Monks and Clergy; (knowing that from them " chiefly it is, that Integrity or Corruption of Man- " ners prevails in the Common People) endeavouring, " by all poſſible Ways, to confer the chiefeſt Honours " upon them, who are diſtinguiſhed moſt for the Pu- " rity of their Converſation, or the Excellency of " their Learning. You think it much better to make " your Kingdom illuſtrious with theſe Ornaments, " than with Trophies and Arches.

" Nor are you the Author, or the Encourager only " of theſe Things, but you are yourſelf an Example " of them; you not only enjoin but exhibit them, " by performing more yourſelf than you preſcribe to " others.

" Great and efficacious indeed is the Authority of a " King, when he commands; but how much more effi- " cacious when he acts what he commands, and makes " his whole Life an illuſtrious Pattern of the Ob- " ſervance of his own Laws! To you the Laws are " no Terror, and yet who is there even among pri- " vate Men more obſervant of them, than yourſelf? " Who more incorrupt, who more faithful in his Con- " tracts, who more conſtant in his Friendſhip, or a " greater Lover of Juſtice and Equity? What Houſe " is there of any of your Subjects that can give an " Example of a State in Wedlock ſo chaſte and har- " monious? Where can you find a Wife more ſuita- " ble to the beſt of Huſbands? What private Fami- " lies, what College, what Academy is there to be

" found,

" found, that ſhines more than your Court with " Men of exemplary Lives, and moſt excellent " Learning?

" The antient Poets have given us a fabulous " Account of a ſtrange *Golden Age*, and yet, while " your Highneſs is doing ſuch Things as theſe, " what elſe, I pray you, is it than the *Reſtoration* " of the *Golden Age*, if there ever was one? And " even ſuch a difficult Undertaking is, by your En- " couragement, rendered ſo ſucceſsful, that we can- " not doubt its being carried on with the Aſſiſtance " of Heaven. What Country is there now in the " World that does not congratulate this Nation, if " they are its Well-wiſhers, if otherwiſe, does not " envy it? What Kingdom is there now round the " whole Globe more famous or more celebrated? " But it is the King's Diſpoſition which illuſtrates " or darkens Kingdoms. In what Books, and in " what Languages will Poſterity hereafter celebrate " it, that *Britain* ſo flouriſhed with all Manner of " Virtues, as to ſeem almoſt new-born under *Henry* " the VIIIth? A Prince ſent down as it were from " Heaven for this Purpoſe! rendering his Country " ſo incorrupt in her Morals, that *Maſſilia* itſelf (now " called *Marſeiles*) might borrow from her an Ex- " ample of civil Diſcipline; ſo excellent in Piety, " ſhe might be the Miſtreſs of Piety even at *Rome* " itſelf; ſo full of Men ſkilled in all Kinds of Learn- " ing, *Italy* might envy her, were it not that Emu- " lation in Studies is ever ignorant of Envy; laſtly, " bleſſed with ſuch a Prince as may be a Pattern of " governing for all Princes to all Poſterity. This " is it indeed, thou immortal God, to be a Kingdom! " this is it to act the King! this is it to have a " Prince's Court!

" Formerly, through an intenſe Love to Learning, " and the Sweetneſs of an unbuſy Life, I had ſome " Averſion to the Courts of Kings; but now, when

" I conſider with myſelf what a Prince and Gover-
" nor there is at the *Britiſh* Court, what a Queen,
" what Nobles, what Counſellors, and what Officers,
" I have an exceſſive Inclination to be one of it; nor
" ſhould I be aſhamed of my Ambition, was it not
" that the Weakneſs of my Health, in a greater
" Decline than is uſual at my Age, diſuaded me
" from it; though I need not be afraid to incur
" the Infamy of Ambition, who have been invited
" to it by more Princes than one, upon no con-
" temptible Conditions. I confeſs indeed, that I am
" not a Native of your Country, but only grafted
" into it; and yet, when I reflect with myſelf, how
" many Years I have lived in it, how many generous
" Patrons, and how many eminent and ſincere Friends I
" have met with, what a Share of my Fortune, ſuch as
" it is, have been owing to it, I think myſelf as much
" obliged to *Britain*, as if I had been born in it.

" But, notwithſtanding all I have ſaid, I have ſpoken
" nothing yet of thoſe admirable Qualities of your
" Body and Mind, for which we are more indebted
" to our Maker than to our own Induſtry and Im-
" provement of them; and yet all theſe Excellen-
" cies, when they fall to the Share of an *honeſt* Prince,
" are very advantageous to the Publick. Beſides,
" though for ſome Years good Learning has had no
" great Reputation in Princes, yet your Majeſty will
" bring it about; as in former Ages it was the prin-
" cipal Glory in Princes to excel in Learning, ſo
" it will hereafter be eſteemed one of the moſt
" beautiful Parts of a Prince's Character, that he is
" a Man of Learning. Your Virtues will take off
" that Objection which ſome make, that the Study
" of Letters relaxes and weakens the Vigour of a
" Royal Breaſt: For who, of thoſe who were un-
" learned, was ever readier than yourſelf in the Exe-
" cution of any Royal Function? Who more dili-
" gent in the Suppreſſion of Vice? Who more

" quick

" quick for Conſultation? Who more ſharp-ſighted as
" to future Events? Who more ready in the Diſpatch
" of Buſineſs? And as to Learning, which Your Ma-
" jeſty formerly made ſo happy a Progreſs in, it is
" now advanced ſo far, not perhaps ſo much by
" Study, as an unheard of Felicity of Genius.

" The Soundneſs and Sharpneſs of your Parts are
" an Aſtoniſhment even to the moſt learned Di-
" vines. Thus, in a Diſputation, which your Majeſty
" appointed for your own Pleaſure, with a moſt acute
" and learned Divine, You being a Defendant on
" this Subject, *(No other Prayer is required of the*
" *Laity, than mental Addreſſes to the Deity)* what an
" aſtoniſhing Artiſt did you prove Yourſelf! Who
" could have ſhewn a ſharper argumentative Inven-
" tion? Who could have drawn more nervous De-
" ductions? Who could have made more elegant Ap-
" plications? But the Accompliſhment, of all your
" other Excellencies and Ornaments, is this, that
" there is no one more free of Acceſs, no one that
" takes upon him leſs Pride and Superciliouſneſs;
" yet never ſinking yourſelf beneath your Royal
" Dignity, when it is neceſſary to ſupport it.

" *Horace* has told us, that formerly the Palms of
" *Olympic* Victories ſo ennobled the mortal Conque-
" rors, as to advance them to the Dignity of Gods;
" and ſuch Princes as had been good and laudable
" Governors were admitted to the ſame Honour
" by ſome ſolemn Ceremonial. Theſe are the Actions
" which truly conſecrate Men to Immortality, this
" is their Way to the Stars. The learned Men, whom
" you adorn and encourage in ſuch various Man-
" ners, will never ſuffer the Memory of your Vir-
" tues to be worn away by Length of Time. The
" *Greek* as well as the *Latin* Eloquence, grateful to
" you for your Favours to them, will always tell,
" that there was one *Henry* the VIIIth, who alone
" poſſeſſed in himſelf all the Ornaments and Per-

" fections, which ſeparately diſtinguiſhed ſo many " Heroes. *Ptolomeus Philadelphus*'s Eſteem and Re- " gard for Learning, *Alexander the Great*'s Fortune, " *Philip*'s Courteſy, *Cæſar*'s Intrepidity of Mind, " *Auguſtus*'s Soundneſs, *Trajan*'s Meekneſs, *Alexander* " *Severus*'s Integrity, *Mark Antonius Pius*'s Learning, " *Theodoſius*'s Piety, and whatever elſe was glorious " in every one of the Antients, We pray GOD, who " has given you theſe great Gifts, would make them " fortunate and happy to you and yours; that he, who " gave theſe excellent Qualities, would of his Goodneſs " increaſe them, and render them ſucceſsful!

" I know I am impertinent in giving your Ma- " jeſty, who is much better employed, this Interrup- " tion by theſe Trifles; but I could not reſtrain " the Ardour of my Mind, that was ſo ambitious " of congratulating you in this Manner; for I had " heard from many, on the moſt authentick Grounds, " what an Age would ſpring up from your Virtues; " and I had alſo a Mind to teſtify myſelf thoughtful " of your Favours to me, not only declared in " Words, but performed in Deeds.

" I beg your moſt ſerene Majeſty would ſuffer " your *Eraſmus*, ſuch as he is, to be in the Num- " ber of thoſe eminent Men, whoſe Parts are il- " luſtrated and encouraged by your Highneſs, and " whoſe Learning on the other hand reflects an " Ornament on your Servants themſelves. May the " good GOD, our bleſſed LORD and SAVIOUR, pre- " ſerve you ſafe, flouriſhing, and proſperous.

Antwerp, the *Ides of* May, 1518.

The Royal College of Phyſicians eſtabliſhed.

This Year was eſtabliſhed the Royal *College of Phyſicians* in *London*, by *Henry*, which owes a grateful Acknowledgment to the Cardinal's Memory, as appears from the following Tranſlation of the Preamble to the original Charter, *Whereas we judge it the Duty of our Kingly*

Kingly Office every way to conſult the Happineſs of our People, firſt ſeaſonably, by putting a ſtop to the Endeavours of the Wicked, we have thought it neceſſary to check the Boldneſs of thoſe unſkilful Men, who profeſs Phyſick more out of Avarice than any Confidence of a ſafe Conſcience, to the great Damage of the ignorant and credulous People.

Wherefore, imitating in part the Example of well-regulated Cities in Italy *and ſeveral other Nations, and partly moved thereunto by the earneſt Requeſt of the following grave and learned Men,* viz. John Chamber, Thomas Lynacre,* Ferdinand de Victoria, *our Phyſicians;*

* *Thomas Lynacre*, born in *Canterbury*, was deſcended from the *Lynacres* of *Lynacre-hall*, in the Pariſh of *Cheſterfield*, in *Derbyſhire*, which, we ſuppoſe, occaſions the Miſtake in *Hollingſhead*, who ſays he was born in *Derbyſhire*. He was choſen Fellow of *All-Souls* College in *Oxford* in the Year 1484, having out-ſtript moſt of his Cotemporaries in all Branches of Learning. Afterwards going Abroad he became Dr. of Phyſick, and chiefly reſided at *Rome* and *Florence*, where he was much careſſed by *Lawrence de Medicis*, D. of *Florence*. He was particularly acquainted with *Demetrius Politian*, and *Hermolaus Barbarius*, who were great Helps to his Studies. Being returned into *England*, he was incorporated Doctor of Phyſick at *Oxford*, where for ſome time he read Lectures in that Faculty *gratis*. He afterwards had the Honour of inſtructing Prince *Arthur* in the *Italian* Tongue, and was made Phyſician to *Henry* the VIIIth. He was one of the principal Perſons under the Protection and Encouragement of Cardinal *Wolſey*, in Founding the above College, being choſen firſt Preſident of that Honourable Society. Then he entered into Holy Orders, and in the Year 1519 was made, by the Cardinal's Recommendation, Chanter of *York*, and afterwards had ſeveral other Benefices beſtowed on him. A publick Spirit filled his Breaſt, and his Parts as well as Subſtance were employed for the general Benefit of Mankind. He was a great Maſter both of the *Greek* and *Latin* Languages, and, it is ſaid, he was one of the firſt *Engliſhmen* who writ *Latin* correctly, tho' all his learned Acquaintance valued themſelves upon it, particularly Cardinal *Wolſey*, Sir *Thomas More*, *Eraſmus*, *Grocin*, *William Latimer*, *Tunſtal*, &c. and, to crown all, his Character in private Life was that of obſerving ſtrict Juſtice between Man and Man; a plain Dealer, and an utter Enemy to all indirect and deſigning Methods. He died the 20th of *October*, 1524, and was buried in *St. Paul's* Cathedral, *London*, and divers Pieces of his compiling are ſtill extant.

cians; Nicholas Halſewell, John Francis, *and* Robert Yaxley, *Phyſicians*; *but chiefly by the Moſt Reverend Father in Chriſt, Lord* Thomas, *Cardinal Prieſt of the Holy Church of* Rome, *with the Title of* St. Cecile *beyond* Tyber, *Archbiſhop of* York, *and of our Kingdom of* England *our moſt dear Chancellor, We will and command that a perpetual College be founded for grave and learned Men, publickly to practiſe Phyſick in our ſaid City of* London *and Suburbs thereof, and for ſeven Miles round it*, &c. *

Eraſmus, about this Time, "acknowledges himſelf very ſenſibly affected with the Magnanimity of the Biſhop of *Winchester*, in erecting and amply endowing a College at his own Expence, but wholly captivated with Admiration at the vaſt and truly heroic Deſign formed by Cardinal *Wolſey*, who had with the greateſt Wiſdom conſtituted a learned Society, not only for the Improvement of Knowledge in every Language, and every Science, but for a ſuitable Regulation of Manners." Nor has he omitted to do the Cardinal Juſtice, in reſpect to the great Care he took towards introducing a more ſtrict Diſcipline, eſpecially in the Monaſteries, and among the Clergy of every Denomination: And in a Letter to the Cardinal, he fully diſcovers the Force of his Eloquence, when he takes notice of his Adminiſtration, and therein tells him, "Your Highneſs, in the happy Adminiſtration of the moſt flouriſhing Kingdom upon Earth, is no leſs neceſſary to the King, your Maſter, than was formerly *Theſeus* to *Hercules*, or *Achates* to *Æneas*."

The

* The Preſident now is *Henry Plumtree*, M. D. and the Cenſors are,

J. Gardiner, M. D.
R. Noſbitt, M. D.
Joſ. Letherland, M. D.
W. Beaſord, M. D.

And this Royal College is in ſuch high Eſtimation, at this Day, that his Grace, *Charles* Duke of *Richmond*, and his Grace, *John* Duke of *Montagu* have honoured it with their becoming Fellows.

The States of *Italy* were during this Year free from War, and the *Chriſtian* Princes in general inclinable to Peace among themſelves, to which they were the rather induced, becauſe *Selim*, Prince of the *Turks*, had greatly enlarged and extended the *Ottoman* Empire; after which, obſerving that *Bajazet*, his Father, was grown extremely old, and was endeavouring to eſtabliſh the Succeſſion of the Empire in the Perſon of his eldeſt Son, he rebelled againſt him, and conſtrained him to reſign the Empire to himſelf: And, not ſuffering his Ambition to ſtop there, he poiſoned his Father; ſoon after he defeated his Brother in a pitch'd Battle, took him Priſoner, and publickly put him to Death; as he did likewiſe his youngeſt Brother, and even attempted to deſtroy his only Son, *Solyman*. Theſe Cruelties gave all Men a terrible Apprehenſion of him.

State of Italy *and* Turky. 1518.

The Ambaſſadors, which the *Venetians* ſent to the *Ottoman* Porte, firſt touched at *Cyprus*, then proceeded to *Damaſcus*, and from thence to *Conſtantinople*; (whither *Selim*, who had aſſumed the Title of Emperor, was returned in Triumph) and being admitted to an Audience, after they had congratulated the Grand Seignior upon his Victories, they prayed, that the *Venetian* Merchants, who dwelt in the different Countries that were newly conquered by him, might be preſerved in their antient Privileges, which Requeſt the Emperor was pleaſed to grant.

The Venetians *ſend Ambaſſadors to the* Ottoman Porte.

They had likewiſe ſent Ambaſſadors into *Spain*, and to ſeveral other Courts, to ſollicit for the former Privileges, with reſpect to Trade *, which with ſome Difficulty they obtained; ſo that

And into Spain, *&c.*

* The Founders and Governors of the City of *Venice* were always willing that their Citizens ſhould exerciſe themſelves in Voyages and Sea-traffick, knowing that theſe might enrich their Country, and would make them known to foreign Nations; and the

That *Trade*, with the *Arts* and *Sciences*, visibly encreased, and the *Venetian* Subjects had now the pleasing Prospect of Peace and Plenty in the room of War and Desolation; in which happy Situation we shall for the present leave them.

Affairs of Rome. 1518. We before made some mention of the Conspiracy formed against his Holiness, principally conducted with the Privity of the famous Cardinal *Hadrian*, one of *Wolsey*'s inveterate Enemies; the Particulars of which follow:

Hadrian, † joined with a young Cardinal, whose Name was *Alphonso*, together with other Cardinals, made the Attempt, which finally ruined him. *Alphonso* was instigated thereunto by an implacable Resentment which he had entertained against the Pope, for the ill and ungrateful Usage which he pretended his Father had received for his eminent Services; he himself

the very Situation of their City invited them to it; for, as the Inhabitants had not Lands sufficient to employ themselves at Home, they fitted out divers Ships to trade into all Parts of the then known World, in which they sent their Gentlemen to learn Navigation; some of whom remained in foreign Countries, and some, after they had sufficiently improved themselves, and were grown rich, returned to their native Country to settle, spend the Incomes of their Estates, and be useful to the State. Very good Policy, the true Way to enrich and make their own Country happy, and worthy of Imitation!——But what can be said then of such of our Gentry, Nobility, *&c.* who carry our Wealth Abroad, and come *empty* Home?

† *Hadrian* was a Man of Letters and good Capacity; but he had the Misfortune (which was probably owing to his fluctuating Temper of Mind) to fall under the Displeasure of all his Masters. Under the Pontificate of *Alexander* the VIth he was not only out of Favour, but found it necessary, for his own Safety, to withdraw from Court, and even to abscond in the Mountains of *Trent*, that he might avoid the Censures his Holiness had fulminated against him. What Offence he gave, by his Conduct to the *English* Court, we have before intimated. Upon the Accession of *Leo* the Xth, he was distinguished with special Marks of Favour and Trust, but had not so much Sense of Gratitude, as to restrain the natural Liberty of his Temper, and rather gave Way to a vicious Disposition to commit Acts of Falsehood and Treachery.

himſelf having alſo contributed to the Advancement of *Leo* to the Popedom, he expected very different Treatment from him than what he had experienced; for his Holineſs is charged with having even diſpoſſeſſed him of his Perſonal Eſtate, whereby he was incapacitated to live up either to the Dignity of his Houſe, or his Character: So that, burning with Revenge, and almoſt brought to the Brink of Deſpair, he thought to have aſſaſſinated the Pope with his own Hands; but, fearing the Scandal, the Difficulty, and Conſequences of executing ſo bloody and horrid a Fact, he thought to poiſon him by the Hands of a Surgeon, who was employed about the Pope's Perſon, and found Means to make him an Accomplice in his Deſign; but, before it could be effected, he had, by his continual and open Invectives againſt the Pope, rendered himſelf ſo violently ſuſpected by his Holineſs, that he was upon the Point of taking the Cardinal into Cuſtody, who, having ſome ſecret Intimation of it, retired out of *Rome*.

The Pope, who had diſcovered the whole Secret, was very uneaſy at this Retreat, and, in order to get him into his Hands, he promiſed *Alphonſo* a ſafe Conduct, in caſe he would return to *Rome*, and made the like Promiſe to the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador. *Alphonſo*, upon this Aſſurance, tho' conſcious of ſo wicked and deteſtable a Scheme, came back to *Rome*, where the Pope immediately cauſed him to be apprehended. Of this the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador complained, to which his Holineſs anſwered, "That the Protection he had promiſed could "never be conſtrued to extend to a Perſon, that had "been guilty of no leſs a Crime than that of High "Treaſon, eſpecially in this Caſe, where the Party had "attempted to poiſon him, a Practice ſo greatly abhor-"red by God and Man, that the Laws have reſerved "no ſafe Conduct for Perſons offending in that kind; "and therefore he hoped he ſhould be excuſed, if he "delivered him over to be tried in the ordinary Courſe

" of Juſtice." Soon after he and another Cardinal were not only degraded by Sentence of the Conſiſtory, but tried and found guilty. The next Night *Alphonſo*, the principal Conſpirator, was privately ſtrangled in Priſon, and another (whoſe Name was *Brandinello*) was baniſhed for Life. What affected Cardinal *Hadrian*, Biſhop of *Bath*, in this Cauſe was, that he confeſſed *Alphonſo*, in his hearing, uſed Threatnings againſt the Pope, tending to the very Point he was convicted of; but, on his proſtrating himſelf before his Holineſs, and making a full Confeſſion, he was pardoned, on Condition of paying a certain Sum of Money: Yet, either not truſting to the Pope's Letter of Pardon, or being unable to pay the Sum ſpecified without leſſening his Dignity, or perhaps apprehending he could not any longer appear with Decency in the Court of *Rome*, he privately withdrew from that City, and no certain Account was ever afterwards given of him: Though ſome have reported, that he was killed, by the Servants who attended him in making his Eſcape, for the Sake of the Money he carried off, and had quilted up in his Cloaths.

Hadrian, after he had deceived Cardinal *Wolſey*, before this Calamity fell upon him, took ſeveral Methods in order to recover *Wolſey*'s Friendſhip, but in vain, the Cardinal having betimes learned this Leſſon, *That Man is neither to be excuſed nor pitied, who, being once beguiled, puts Confidence in an Enemy, ſhould be afterwards hurt him.*

It is true, an Enemy reconciled Charity teaches us to love, ſo as not to hurt him, or to do him an unfriendly Office; but we are not enjoined, nay, Wiſdom learns us not, to truſt him: " And (ſays an antient " Author) a Man can be in no greater Danger of being " deceived, than when he puts Confidence in a Perſon " that has once betrayed him."

This Conſpiracy greatly affected the Pope for a Time, as he ſuſpected there might ſtill be others of the

the Cardinals undiſcovered, who were ſecretly engaged in Deſigns againſt him.

The Pope makes 31 Cardinals.

Which made him have recourſe to an extraordinary Method for the Preſervation of his Power and Dignity, ſuch a one indeed as only neceſſary Reaſons of Safety could juſtify, which was, by declaring, ſome time after in the Conſiſtory, the Creation of no leſs than thirty one Cardinals.

No ſooner was it known at *Rome* that *Hadrian* was retired, but his Holineſs deprived him of his Church-dignities; and, as he was poſſeſſed of the Biſhoprick of *Bath* and *Wells*, the Pope wrote to the King, wherein he intimated, that he had deprived him of his Benefices upon his Majeſty's Account; and ſome little time after he conferred the Adminiſtration of that Biſhoprick upon Cardinal *Wolſey*, by a particular Bull, which runs thus in *Engliſh*.

LEO, *Biſhop, Servant of the Servants of God, To our beloved Son,* Thomas, *Cardinal Prieſt, with the Title of* St. Cecile, *Health and Apoſtolical Benediction.*

" WE queſtion not but we rightly ſtudy the Good " of Churches, when we depute wiſe and uſe- " ful Miniſters to govern them, by whoſe Vigilance " and Wiſdom the Churches themſelves are preſerved " from Harm, and conſtantly improve, with the Lord's " Aſſiſtance, in ſpiritual and temporal Advancements. " Some time ſince we reſerved to our own Ordina- " tion and Diſpoſition, the providing for all vacant " Churches, or that for the future ſhould prove va- " cant in the Apoſtolick See: Decreeing all Attempts " from that time knowingly or ignorantly, by what " Authority ſoever to the contrary, to be void and " of no Effect.

" And whereas the Churches of *Bath* and *Wells*, " being united together, on account of our having

" deprived *Hadrian Corneto*, then Cardinal Prieſt with " the Title of *St. Chriſogonus*, who preſided over " the ſaid Churches, by our definitive Sentence, his " Crimes and Demerits requiring the ſame, and he " being legally ſummoned to our Preſence for that " Purpoſe, and likewiſe of the Cardinalate Honour " and Title by this Privation in the ſaid See, " the ſaid Churches are deſolate of paſtoral Com- " fort.

" We deſiring as well to provide a careful and " profitable Governor to the ſaid united Churches, " by whom they may be wiſely and ſalubriouſly di- " rected, in which none beſides ourſelves could or " can for this time interfere, (the aforeſaid Decree " and Reſervation ſtill ſubſiſting) as that you may " with the greater Decency ſupport your State as " the Dignity of the Cardinalate requires, by grant- " ing you our Aſſiſtance, and hoping that you, thro' " the Wiſdom given to you by the Lord, and the " other manifold virtuous Gifts with which you are " adorned, may be able (the Lord directing) whole- " ſomely and happily to govern the ſaid united " Churches, with the Advice of our Brethren, apoſto- " lical Authority, and by the Tenor of theſe Pre- " ſents, We commend the ſaid united Churches un- " to you by yourſelf, together with that of *St. Ce- " cile*, of the City which is your Cardinalate Title, " and that of *York*, in which you preſide, and all " other Churches, Monaſteries, and Eccleſiaſtical Be- " nefices, which you hold in Title or Commendam, " or otherwiſe poſſeſs or may obtain hereafter, and " annual Penſions which you do or may hereafter " enjoy; likewiſe the Charge and Adminiſtration of " the ſaid united Churches, both in Spirituals and " Temporals, we fully commit unto you, having " conceived from Hopes and Confidence, that, the " Lord guiding your Actions, thoſe Churches, thro' " the fruitful and induſtrious Study of your Circum-

" ſpection,

" ſpection, will be profitably and proſperouſly go-
" verned, directed, and agreeably advanced both in
" Spiritualities and Temporalities.

" We will, however, that the due and accuſtomed
" Expences of the Epiſcopal Tables of *Bath* and *Wells*
" being ſupported and defrayed, it be lawful and
" free for you to diſpoſe of and order the Reſidue
" of their Fruits, Revenues and Income, as the
" Biſhops of *Bath* and *Wells* for the Time being
" could have diſpoſed of them, or ought to have;
" ſtrictly forbidding unto you, however, the Aliena-
" tion of any immoveable Goods, or pretious Move-
" ables belonging to the ſaid Tables.

" This we commend by Apoſtolical Letters to
" your Circumſpection, to the End that you ſo faith-
" fully act and proſecute the ſaid Charge and Ad-
" miniſtration, that *Bath* and *Wells* may rejoice to be
" committed to ſo provident a Governor, and faith-
" ful an Adminiſtrator. And you, beſides the Re-
" ward of eternal Retribution, may thereby more co-
" piouſly deſerve to obtain our's and the Holy See's
" Benediction and Favour.

" Given at *St. Peter*'s at *Rome*, in the Year of
" the Incarnation of our Lord 1518, on the
" third of the Kalends of *Auguſt*, and in the
" 6th Year of our Pontificate. *Evangeliſta.*

" ALOISIUS PRO R."

New Favours conferred on the Cardinal.

The Cardinal, in regard to his civil Adminiſtration, had two new Grants made to him by the King, dated the 6th of *May*, this Year, of an extraordinary Extent; in the firſt of which he is empowered to grant Letters Patent of Denizin, to be made out under the Great Seal, to ſuch Perſon or Perſons as ſhould at any time ſue to him for the ſame, without any other Warrant. In the other he is authorized to make out the King's Letters Patent under the Great Seal,

of

of all *Conge d'Elires*, Royal Aſſents, and Reſtitutions of Temporalities, as well of Archbiſhopricks, Monaſteries, Abbeys, and Priories, as of all other religious Houſes within the King's Realm of *England* and *Wales*, and the Marches of the ſame, unto ſuch Perſon or Perſons as ſhould afterwards in due Form ſue for the ſame; and that, by Virtue of the ſaid Powers, the Cardinal ſhould cauſe from time to time to be made out Commiſſions and Writs of *Dedimus Poteſtatem*, to ſuch as ſhould think convenient to take the Homages and Fealty of all manner of Perſons, as well Archbiſhops and Biſhops, as other Perſons, due unto the Crown for the ſaid Temporalities.

In *October* following the King was pleaſed to confer on the Cardinal the Office of Bailiff of the Honour or Lordſhip of *Cheſhunt*, in the County of *Hertford*; in which Grant he was conſtituted Keeper of the Park adjoining to the ſame, and intitled to the Benefit and Herbage of the ſaid Park, with the Profits of the Garden belonging to it, and other Emoluments for the Term of his Life, without being obliged to give any Account of them to the King, his Heirs, or Succeſſors. *

Affairs of Milan. 1518.

Marſhal *Lautrec* was now Governor of the *Milaneſe*, and the Affairs of that Government, like the other States in *Italy*, were in a peaceable Condition. But Marſhal *Trivulca*, who was grown very old, and reſided at *Milan*, had ſome Differences with *Lautrec*, who, taking notice that one of *Trivulca*'s Nephews was made a Governor in the *Venetian* Service, and that another of his Family was lately taken into the Pay of that State, ſuſpected, as *Trivulca* was an *Italian*, his Fidelity, as did alſo the King: So that he found himſelf every Day

* What particular Reaſons the King might have for beſtowing theſe inferior Favours, or the Cardinal for accepting of them, we can't conceive; but we muſt own it ſeems to be deſcending, rather than riſing, and favours a little of Avarice; though ſmall Grants have often been accepted by great Perſonages, for the Sake of making a favourite Seat compleat.

Day ſlighted at *Milan*, and that little Regard was had to his Letters at the Court of *France*; of which he complained, but in vain. Upon this he repaired thither, in order to juſtify himſelf in Perſon, which was intirely agreeable to *Lautrec*, who was heartily glad of his Abſence; and no ſooner was he ſet out, but the Governor, by the King's Orders, put *Trivulca*'s Wife and Grandchildren under a ſort of Reſtraint.

Trivulca, ſome time after, with great Difficulty (being much worn out by Age and Infirmities) arrived at the *French* Court, where he was introduced to his Majeſty, and, complaining of the Treatment he had met with, the King let him know why he ſuſpected his Fidelity, and aſſured him, that nothing ſhould have ſtaid his being puniſhed, but the Conſideration of his former faithful Service. *Trivulca*, in Return, inſiſted on his having never ſevered (ſince he had been in the *French* Service) from his Fidelity to that Crown; but the King turned ſhort on him, which gave the utmoſt Uneaſineſs to aged *Trivulca*. However, he ſtill followed the Court, in hopes of having another Audience of the King, which not obtaining, he fell ſick at *Chartres*, and there died.

Guicciardin gives this Character of him, "He "was a Man, in the Judgment of many, which was "confirmed by ſundry experienced Officers, of ſingular "Valour in the Diſcipline of War, and run a Race "always expoſed to the Inconſtancy of Fortune; "who, according to her Mutability, made him feel "the Operation of her Humours, ſometimes rejoicing "in her Favour, and at other times finding her "ſour and bitter Taſte."

His Epitaph, engraved on his Tomb, was as follows;

I find that Reſt within my Grave,
Which in my Life I could not have.

His

Great Zeal for Religion.

His Holineſs again earneſtly puſhed the Affair of the pretended War, contriving, with the Ambaſſadors reſiding at his Court, Projects which would have required more Zeal than Princes uſually have; and greater Union among them to execute.

Rapin obſerves, "he ſhould have amaſſed vaſt "Sums of Money, and that was the ſecret Intent of "the League propoſed by the Pope, of which he "was to be Head and Director. To that End he "exhauſted, if I may ſo ſay, the Church's Treaſure, "to encourage the Faithful to exchange their periſh-"ing Riches for everlaſting Advantages." This Affair he carried ſo far as to ſend Legates to all the Courts, to excite the Sovereigns to join their Forces together for the Deſtruction of the *Infidels*; and there was not one but outwardly ſhewed an extream Deſire to apply himſelf to ſo holy a Work, provided he could be ſecure from being diſturbed by his Neighbours; but that was what rendered it very difficult, becauſe they had no Confidence in one another.

What the Pope had wrote the laſt Year to the *Chriſtian* Princes, concerning the imminent Danger they were in of a Viſit from the *Turks*, not anſwering his Purpoſe, the Beginning of this Year he cauſed the College of Cardinals to write to them on the ſame Subject; and, that theſe Letters might have the greater Weight, *Leo* ſent *Legatus à latere* * to *England*, *Spain*, *France*, and *Germany*, on the ſame Account.

Cardinal *Campejus* was appointed for *England*, and juſt ready to ſet out, which *Wolſey*, as *Rapin* remarks, hearing of, ſent a Meſſenger to *Rome*, expreſſing his Sur-

* Theſe Legates are of four Sorts. 1ſt, They whom the Pope ſends to preſide in general Councils. 2d, The Pope's perpetual Vicars in Countries remote from *Rome*. 3d, Thoſe who are delegated to convene Synods for reſtoring Church Diſcipline, and on other Emergencies. 4th, The Name of *Legate* is alſo given to the Pope's extraordinary Ambaſſador. At preſent this Title is given to none but Cardinals.

Surprize that the Pope ſhould nominate a *Legate* for *England*, when he himſelf was there already in that Capacity, "Or, at leaſt, ſays he, I ought to have been "joined in the Commiſſion, or the King may think "his Holineſs was afraid to truſt me." This Repreſentation had the deſired Effect.

On the 17th of *May Leo* joined *Wolſey* in the Commiſſion with *Campejus*; in which is the following Clauſe. "Knowing full well what Favour and "Authority you have with the King, and that ſuch "is your great Wiſdom and Ingenuity, that you "can eaſily perſuade or diſſuade him as you pleaſe, *&c.*" This Point being ſettled, *Campejus* made the beſt of his way for *England*, where he ſhortly after arrived.

On the 29th of *July Campejus* made his Entry into *London*; and our Hiſtorians ſay he had but a very poor Train, and that *Wolſey* ſent him twelve Mules with Coffers richly covered. However, his Holineſs did not forget to ſupply his Legates with Bulls, for, upon *Campejus*'s Arrival in *England*, he ſent another Bull, authorizing them to grant plenary Indulgences to the faithful of both Sexes, who ſhould be preſent at the Maſſes, that either of them celebrated in the Preſence of the King and Queen, provided they confeſſed their Sins, and were penitent.

The Legates Commiſſion conſiſted of two Points: 1*ſt*, To obtain an Aid of Money from the Clergy: 2*d*, To perſuade *Henry* to join in the League for Defence of Religion and the Church.

The Cardinal introduced *Campejus* to his Majeſty, who received him very graciouſly. After opening his Commiſſion, in the Progreſs of his Negotiation, he preſſed the King to declare himſelf as to the Part he intended to act. *Henry* anſwered, "That it was "neceſſary all Sovereign Princes ſhould unite in this "Affair; and, as he found other Princes act, he would "be ready to perform his Part."

In ſhort, *Campejus* found that the King was determined not to enter into any further League on Account of Religion; and, his Holineſs's fine-ſpun Scheme being quickly ſeen through, by moſt of the other Princes, his Project came to nothing, and the *Turks* were left to proceed in their own Way.

After *Campejus* had failed in his Commiſſion, he was for viſiting the *religious Houſes*; but, being oppoſed in that by Cardinal *Wolſey*, ſome time after he returned to *Rome*, to condole with his Maſter.

Here, we think, is another plain Inſtance of Cardinal *Wolſey*'s Zeal for his Country, wherein he would not ſuffer even the *Head of the Church*, under the moſt ſpecious Pretences, to practice any thing to her Detriment, much leſs cajole her out of *Money* and *Forces* to defend Caſtles in the Air.

Affairs of Spain. 1518.

Charles, King of *Spain*, was all this Year in that Kingdom ſettling the Affairs of the State; but his Miniſters, that he brought with him, acted contrary to the Inclination and Diſpoſition of the Natives, which laid the Foundation of the great Troubles that afterwards enſued. And the only remarkable Act, the young King diſpatched this Year, was that of ſending an Ambaſſador to *Selim*, Emperor of the *Turks*, whoſe Name was *Gazzi Joſre de Loayſa*, a Knight of *Rhodes*, and his Commiſſion was to pray of the *Ottoman* Porte, not to ſuffer the Pilgrims to be moleſted in their Way to *Jeruſalem*; and, if poſſible, to penetrate into the real Views of this enterprizing Prince. To which he received for Anſwer, that what he requeſted ſhould be complied with, provided the *Greeks* were not ill uſed in *Italy*, and other Parts of the King's Dominions.

Affairs of Scotland. 1518.

Scotland we left, in the Year 1517, in very great Diſorder, occaſioned by a Contention that aroſe among the great Men, and the Duke of *Albany*, the Regent's Abſence; and, as he was not returned, that Country continued all this Year in

in the ſame unhappy Situation: But it afterwards appeared, that the Duke was not ſuffered to follow his own Inclinations, being detained in *France* under divers Pretences, in order to oblige *Henry* the VIIIth, whoſe Friendſhip the King of *France* chiefly regarded.

ON the 8th of *February* the Earl of *Worceſter* repaired to *Tournay*, where he was met by the *French* Commiſſioners, who were empowered to take Poſſeſſion of it, and it was accordingly evacuated by the *Engliſh*, and the Earl, with the other Ambaſſadors returned to *England*. *Affairs of* England. 1519.

Some few Days before this, *Francis*, King of *France*, was pleaſed to ſhew a very demonſtrative Proof how much he eſteemed the Cardinal, by ſending him the following Commiſſion.

" FRANCIS, *by the Grace of God King of the* Franks, " *Duke of* Milan, *and Lord of* Genoa: *To all* " *whom theſe Preſents may concern, Greeting,*

" BE it known, that We, fully confiding in the Loy-
" alty, Prudence, and provident Circumſpection
" of our moſt beloved Friend, the moſt Reverend
" Father in Chriſt, Lord *Thomas*, Cardinal Prieſt of
" the Moſt Holy *Roman* See, Archbiſhop of *York*,
" Primate of *England*, and *Legate a Latere*, do, by
" theſe preſents, appoint and nominate him for our
" true, lawful and undoubted Procurator, Actor, Com-
" miſſary and Deputy.

" Giving and granting unto him full and all man-
" ner of Power, Authority, Faculty, and a ſpecial
" Charge, for Us and in our Name to treat, agree, and
" conclude with the moſt excellent and powerful Prince
" *Henry*, by the ſame Grace King of *England*, our moſt
" dear and moſt beloved Brother, Couſin, and Ally,
" about the Form, Time and Place of Interview and
" Conference, to be had between Us, and about other
" neceſſary and requiſite Affairs relating thereunto, (of

" which Interview and Conference mention is made " in the Treaty begun and concluded in the City of " *London*, by the Orators and Ambaſſadors of Us both, " on the 18th of *October*, in the Year of our Lord " 1518, and by Us confirmed) according to the Te- " nor of that Treaty, or otherwiſe as it ſhall ſeem to " him, *ſalvo* the Honour and Safety of our Perſon: " And to do, ſay, act and exerciſe all and ſingular re- " lating to the Premiſes, which ſhall be neceſſary and " mete, and that the Quality of ſo important an Af- " fair, with the Circumſtances linked and annexed " thereunto, demand and require, and which we " ſhould and would do Ourſelves, if perſonally pre- " ſent, tho' they ſhould prove of ſuch a Nature as to " require a more ſpecial Commiſſion, than what is " mentioned in theſe Preſents.

" We promiſing, on our good Faith and Royal " Word, to hold every Thing approved of, accepta- " ble, firm and ſtable, which the ſaid moſt Reverend " Father, our Procurator, ſhall act, ſay, do, or exer- " ciſe in the Premiſes, and never to countervene, but " inviolably to obſerve and fulfil.

" In Teſtimony whereof we have hereunto ſet our " Hand and Seal. Given in our Caſtle of *Reſignen*, on " the 10th Day of *January*, in the Year of our " Lord 1519, and in the 6th of our Reign,

" By the King,

" *FRANCOYS.*"

After the Cardinal had received this Commiſſion he refuſed to act, till he had his Maſter's Conſent; and the King, interpreting this Refuſal of the Cardinal's as an Inſtance of that ſingular Fidelity and Obeiſance which he bore to his Majeſty, and deſirous that nothing might be omitted on his Part towards attaining the publick and great Advantages expected from the Congreſs, not only authorized the Cardinal to accept the Commiſſion from the *French* King, but impowered him

him to act in as ample a Manner, by ſpecial Commiſſion from himſelf.

The Cardinal was now carrying on the Grand Building at *Hampton-court*, to which he often retired from the Fatigues of the State, as well as to obſerve the Progreſs that was made in the Work. To this Place he was ſometimes followed by Suitors for Favours; and one of them, who was Chaplain to *George Talbot*, Earl of *Shrewsbury*, wrote the following odd Letter to the Earl.

" May it pleaſe your Lordſhip to underſtand, upon " *Monday* was ſevennight laſt paſt, I delivered your " Letter with the Examination to the Lord Cardinal, " at *Guilford*, when he commanded me to wait on " him to the Court; and at the ſame time I ſhew- " ed him that they were but poor Men, and " did the ſame Miſchance of Ignorance, and of no " Malice, pretending to have been their Rights. I " followed him to the Court, and there again at- " tended, but could have no Anſwer: Upon *Friday* " laſt he came to *Hampton*, where he lieth. The " Morrow after I beſought his Grace, I might know " if he would command me any Service, he was not " content with me that I ſpoke to him. The *Sunday* " before I delivered the Letter unto him, which *Ralph* " *Leech* brought. I can have no Anſwer to neither of " both; ſo that who ſhould be a Suitor to him may " have no other Buſineſs, but give Attendance upon " his Pleaſure; he that ſhall ſo do has needful to be a " wiſer Man than I am. I ſaw no other Remedy, but " came away without Anſwer, to rid ſuch Buſineſs in " *London* as your Lordſhip commanded me to do, ex- " cept I would have done as my Lord *Dacres*'s Servant " doth, who came with Letters five Months ſince, and " yet hath no Anſwer; and another Servant of the " Deputy of *Calice* is likewiſe, who came before the " other *Walſingham*. I heard that he anſwered them, " *If ye be not content to tarry my Leiſure, depart when*

" *you*

" *you will.* This is the Truth: I had rather your " Lordſhip commanded me to *Rome*, than deliver him " Letters, and bring Anſwer to the ſame. When he " walks in the Park he will ſuffer no Servant to come " nigh unto him, but commands them away, as far as " one can well ſhoot an Arrow. Sir *William Compton* " ſhewed me, that my Lord Cardinal wrote to Mrs. " *Vernon*, that ſhe would accept of the King's Fa- " vour, and bear in good Mind his Servant *Tyrwhit*; " and now hath, by the Means of *Carew*, upon *Thurſ-* " *day* laſt, got the King's Letter after the ſame Man- " ner; and another to *Godfrey Foliamb*, to adverti ſe " and ſhew unto her the Danger of the ſame: And alſo " the King deſired her, to make him Anſwer in Writ- " ing; and yet, as the ſame Sir *William* ſheweth unto " me, the King hath granted the Wardſhip of young " Mr. *Vernon* and Mr. *Liſter*, both to my Lord Car- " dinal."—Doctor *Fiddes* to this Letter ſays, " It " does not appear what the Perſon would have grant- " ed: Let the Reader therefore judge for himſelf, " how far a Miniſter, who has not only the principal " Direction of Affairs in the Court and Dominions of " his Maſter, but a powerful Influence over all the " Motions in the other Courts of *Europe*, can yet be " at Leiſure to attend the ſeveral Applications made " to him by private Perſons upon private Affairs; " and whether from the Difficulty of Acceſs to ſuch " a Miniſter, or from his anſwering any importunate " Suitors, *If ye be not content to tarry my Leiſure, de-* " *part when you will*, which ſurely is fair Treatment, " and not deceiving a Perſon with fine Promiſes." To which we ſhall only add, if a Miniſter's Actions, for his denying ſome Requeſts, (and thoſe very often even unreaſonable) were to be rendered odious to Poſterity, it would be impoſſible for any one to eſcape; for it is certain, that where a Miniſter has it in his Power to grant one Favour, let him be ever ſo well inclined in the common Courſe of Affairs, it may ſo fall out that he muſt deny ſix.

On

On the 12th of *January* the Emperor *Maximilan* * died, which occaſioned great Alterations in the Affairs of *Europe*, as hereafter will appear. *Maximilian's Death and Character.*

Maximilian was King of the *Romans*, and called Emperor, tho' never crowned by that Title. Some ſay the Reaſon was his declining the Charge and Hazard of going into *Italy*, to receive the Imperial Crown at the Pope's Hands. He lived always under various Conditions of Fortune, who many times offered him full Proſpects of Succeſs, and as often diſappointed him. He was naturally inconſtant, and had Impreſſions very ill diſpoſed,

* Sir *Lewis du May*, Knt. in his *Abridgment of the Laws and Government of* Germany, wrote in the Year 1657, ſays this of the *Auſtrian* Family, 'That 'this Royal Houſe arrived at 'Greatneſs by little and little: 'That its Princes have received 'from *Nature* a long Chin and 'thick Lips, which are phyſi-'ognomical Marks of their Piety, 'Conſtancy, and Integrity; and 'from *God* a peculiar Bleſſing, 'inaſmuch as, by *giving a Glaſs 'of Water with their own Hands*, 'to one that has a great *Wen 'hanging at his Throat*, they cure 'him; and, by *kiſſing* one that 'cannot ſpeak plain, they un-'looſe his Tongue: That this 'Houſe has, within this 300 'Years afforded 10 Emperors, '5 Kings of *Spain*, 40 other 'Kings, Cardinals, Arch-dukes 'and Dukes, and there was ne-'ver a Tyrant amongſt them all; 'and, by the Privileges they re-'ceived from their Emperors, 'they create Gentlemen, Barons 'and Counts thro' the whole 'Empire; and the Emperor 'can't take from them the Lands 'they are ſeized of to give them 'to others.' The Arch-duke of *Auſtria* is the firſt Privy-Counſellor of the Empire, and his Principality is not ſubject to Contributions. Theſe Princes, when they receive the Lands they hold in Fee, are in royal Habit, wear an Arch-duke's Cap upon their Head, pay nothing for their Inveſtiture, and are not ſubject to the Juſtice of the Empire. In Aſſemblies they take their Place on the right Hand of the Emperor, after the Electors, and before the Eccleſiaſtical Princes. If they are challenged to fight a Duel, they may take a Champion, tho' that Privilege be denied to their Adverſary. And, if all the Princes of this Houſe ſhall happen to fail, the Eldeſt Daughter ſhall inherit their Eſtates, and bring all theſe Privileges to her Husband; which happens to be the Caſe at this Day, by the Death of the Emperor, *Charles* the VIth, who is ſucceeded by his Eldeſt Daughter, *Her Moſt Sacred Majeſty the* QUEEN of *HUNGARY*.

poſed, and different from the Judgment of other Men, joined to an exceſſive Prodigality, and a profuſe Temper of ſquandering away Money, which deprived him of Succeſs in almoſt all his Undertakings, being otherwiſe a Prince well inſtructed in the Ordering of War; ſecret in laying and diſpoſing a Plot, and diligent to follow it; of Body able, of Mind affable and eaſy, and repleniſhed with many other excellent Gifts and Ornaments. He ſpent his leiſure Hours in writing Poetry, and compiled the Hiſtory of his Life in *Dutch* Verſe. He had a wonderful Memory; for if he had ever once talked with a Perſon, and not ſeen him for Years after, he could recollect him at the firſt ſight. He was ſo baſhful as is ſcarce to be credited; for he never conſented that any one ſhould ſee him naked. He was very temperate in his Diet, yet kept a noble Table; and, above all, he was ſo genteel in his Behaviour, not only to Princes, but to his Servants, that, with his Looks and Countenance he won their Hearts, and put them out of the Fear which they were ſeized with at their firſt coming into his Preſence.

He died, as *Guicciardin* ſays, at *Lintz**, a Town upon

* This is a ſtrong, well-fortified Place, and the Key of *Auſtria* on the ſide of *Bavaria*. The Elector (now Emperor of *Germany*) thought it of ſuch Importance in the Beginning of the preſent War, that he took it by Stratagem, as the *French* did *Prague* by Surprize, before Prince *Charles* of *Lorain* could relieve it. Theſe, with other Loſſes at firſt (upon the Death of the Emperor *Charles* the VIth,) put the *Auſtrian* Affairs into great Diſorder, which cauſed Prince *Charles* to march his Army for *Bavaria*, in hopes, by making a Diverſion on that Side, to draw Part of the Enemy after him, and thereby ſtop their Progreſs in the Queen of *Hungary*'s Dominions. This Project had, in ſome meaſure, the deſired Effect; for 10,000 of the beſt of the *French* Troops were immediately detached from *Prague* to the Relief of the Electorate, who were ſo narrowly watched by the *Auſtrians*, that in their Route they were hemmed in near *Lintz*, and obliged to throw themſelves into that City for Succour, where they were ſoon followed by another Enemy, Famine,

on the Marſhes of *Auſtria*, where he reſided, in order to take the Diverſion of Hunting the wild Boar, in which he was very expert. His Funeral Obſequies were performed by the King, and other Knights of the Garter*, in great Pomp, at *St. Paul's*, *London*.

Maximilian was no ſooner in his Grave, but the Kings of *France* and *Spain* declared themſelves Candidates for the Empire. This threw the Electors into great Perplexity; on which Side ſoever they turned, Advantages and Inconveniencies aroſe; they perceived, that the Event of this Election not only highly concerned *Germany*, but the reſt of *Europe*, as, in our Opinion, it always muſt. *Candidates for the Empire.*

mine, and that obliged them (after ſtanding a Month's Siege) to ſurrender the Town and themſelves Priſoners of War, who were ſet at Liberty, upon Condition that they ſhould not bear Arms againſt the Queen of *Hungary* in *Germany* for one Year. This lucky Event turned the Fortune of War in Favour of this brave Queen, which has continued ever ſince; therefore *Lintz* is at this Day as famous as it was above 200 Years ago, for the Reſidence and Death of the Emperor *Maximilian*, one of the Great Anceſtors of the *Auſtrian* Family.

* The Founder of this moſt Noble Order was that valiant Prince, King *Edward* the IIId, in 1350, conſiſting of himſelf, as Sovereign, and 25 Knights Companions, beſides the Officers, which are a *Prelate*, *Chancellor*, *Regiſter*, *Garter King at Arms*, and *Uſher*.

The *Prelate* is an Officer of Honour only, without any Penſion or Fee allowed him, and is veſted in the *Biſhop* of *Wincheſter* and his Succeſſors, who now is the Learned and Rt. Rev. Dr. *Benjamin Hoadley*.

The *Chancellorſhip* is an Office veſted in the *Biſhop* of *Saliſbury*, who has the Keeping of the Seal of the Order during Pleaſure, who now is the Learned and Rt. Rev. Dr. *Thomas Sherlock*.

The *Regiſtry* is an Office veſted in the Dean of *Windſor*, who now is Dr. *Penyſton Booth*.

Garter King at Arms is the learned *John Anſtis*, Eſq; whoſe Office is to attend the *Knights of the Garter*, and to manage the Solemnities at their Feaſts and Inſtallations: And the fifth and laſt Officer is the *Uſher of the Black Rod*, Sir *Charles Dalton*, Knt.

The Patron of this Order is *St. George*; but, as to the Particulars of the Habit, we refer our Readers to Mr. *Aſhmole's* Hiſtory of this Order. The Knights wear the *George*, a blue Ribband, and a Garter with this Motto, *Honi Soit Qui Mal Y Penſe*.

Character of Francis the Ist.

" * *Francis*, King of *France*, was 27 " Years of Age, and poſſeſſed all the " corporeal Qualities which are attributed " to the moſt active and ſtrongeſt of Men, except " that his Legs ſeemed to be too weak to bear his " Body. He was tall and ſquare, his Front large, " with piercing Eyes, and a long aquiline Noſe; his " Complexion white, black Hair, round viſaged; " his Mien both ſweet and majeſtick; of a ready " Conception, and nothing could ſlip his Memory; " he expreſſed himſelf happily, and no body could " ſpeak the *French* Tongue better. He every Day, " after Dinner, entertained himſelf with the Learned, " and his Curioſity led him ſo far as to carefully in- " form himſelf of the Secrets of Nature, of the Libe- " ral and Mechanick Arts, with the Inſtruments made " uſe of therein, the Terms whereof were familiar " to him. He was liberal, courteous, humane, open " and eaſy of Acceſs; and his Virtues would have " rendered him the moſt Accompliſhed of his Age, if " they had not been counter-ballanced by Vain-glory, " Indolence, and Voluptuouſneſs. He admired no- " thing but Actions of Ecclat, and did not ſufficiently " diſtinguiſh between Flattery and true Praiſe. He " too often converted to his Pleaſures the Money ap- " pointed for the War, and exhauſted his Finances " before he moſt wanted their Aſſiſtance, which he " could not repleniſh again but by laying new Charges " on the People, without taking the Advice of the " Princes of the Blood, and the Orders of his King- " dom, as all his Predeceſſors had done, except *Lewis* " the XIth. He rarely communicated his grand Af- " fairs to any Council, in which Maxim he abſurdly " imagined abſolute Power conſiſted."

Character of Charles the Vth.

† " *Charles*, King of *Spain*, was above 6 " Years younger than *Francis*, ſmaller in " Stature, and cut a leſs Figure. His " Viſage

* *Varillas*, Page 129, &c. † Ibid.

" Viſage was long, fair Hair, his Colour bloom, his
" Under-Lip pendant, and of an extraordinary
" Thickneſs. He loved to be alone, and ſpoke
" but little. He praiſed no Body, and was not fond
" of being praiſed. He was ſo full of Life, that
" *Maximilian* the Iſt, his Grandfather, having de-
" ſired to have his Picture, it was found neceſſary
" to place him between the Points of four Swords, to
" oblige him to give the Painter Leiſure to take a
" Sketch of his Face. His Health changed with the
" Air or Seaſon; and this was what perſuaded him,
" in the Beginning, to carry on the War by his Lieu-
" tenants. He was of a penetrating Genius; in his
" Humour eaſy; affected to live according to the
" Mode of the Countries he reſided in; and, as his
" Gravity could not be ſufficiently admired in *Spain*,
" his Affability gained him the Hearts of all the
" *Flemings*. He hated Expences, nevertheleſs he
" ſpared nothing in Ceremonies, or Entertainments.
" Never did Prince huſband his Caſh better; yet no
" one ever loſt finer Opportunities for want of Money.
" He never diverted himſelf but by Stealth, and took
" great Precautions to avoid Scandal. From this it
" happened, that *John* of *Auſtria* was twice deceived
" in his Mother, and never knew who ſhe was. He
" always preferred Profit to Honour; and as he was
" not apt to bouy himſelf up with Hopes, he ſel-
" dom gave way to Deſpair. He aimed to imitate
" *Ferdinand* his Grandfather, and had no greater
" Regard than he for his Word, or Oath. He even
" exceeded him in one Point, which was in keeping
" Spies amongſt the Allies of his Enemies, to leſſen
" the Advantage gained over him by *France*, and to
" exaggerate her Misfortunes, when any ſhould hap-
" pen. He never uſed Force, till after he had in vain
" employed Art. He pardoned but few, tho' he had
" not the Cenſure of being cruel. He made no Or-
" dinances but ſuch as he judged would be pleaſing

" to his People. In ſhort, if we would make an ex-
" act Compariſon between theſe two great Princes, it
" muſt be ſaid, that, if the Ambition or Antipathy
" of their Subjects had not ſet them againſt one ano-
" ther, either of them might have attained to Uni-
" verſal Monarchy; to which, it was believed, they
" both aſpired."

Charles hoped for Succeſs, in regard his Family had enjoyed the Imperial Diadem for many Years; *Francis*, on the other hand, was no leſs in hopes, from an Opinion that he ſhould be able to corrupt the Electors; yet both Princes carried on a fair Correſpondence. *Francis*, one Day in a courtly Manner, told the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadors, " That it was a Matter both agree-
" able and convenient that their Maſter and himſelf
" ſhould ſeverally ſeek, by honeſt Means, to encreaſe
" the Honour of his Houſe, by adding to it ſo great
" a Dignity, which in Times paſt had been transfer-
" red into the Families of their Predeceſſors, and he
" hoped, which-ever carried his Point, it would no
" way diminiſh the Friendſhip and Amity between
" them; and that their Maſter would think of the
" Empire, as he did, and follow the Example of two
" Lovers, who, albeit they go in queſt of one Lady,
" would forbear Contention." To which the Ambaſſadors returned the King a ſuitable Anſwer, in the Name of their Maſter.

The Electors aſſemble.

The Electors being aſſembled, who at that Time conſiſted but of Seven, *viz.* *Mentz*, *Cologne*, *Triers*, *Saxony*, *Palatine*, *Brandenburg*, and the King of *Bohemia*, (the Electorate of *Bavaria* being appointed in 1648, and that of *Brunſwick Lunenburg* in 1693) *Francis* and *Charles* ſent Ambaſſadors to the Aſſembly to manage in their Intereſts; but the Pope ſent his Nuncio, with private Orders, to endeavour to get them both rejected.

Henry the VIIIth, being informed of the Difficulties that occurred, in relation to the Choice of either of the

the Candidates, by the Advice of his Prime Minister, *Wolsey*, sent Secretary *Pace* to the Diet, to see whether it would not be adviseable for the King to put in for the Empire. The Minister found three of the Electors disposed to favour his Master's Interest, and *Pace*, in his Letters assured *Wolsey*, "That had the King applied "sooner, there would have been great Probability of "Success: But now it was too late; for Matters were "so ordered, that the Election would be over before "proper Measures could be taken to accomplish his "Project;" which induced the King to decline making any further Advances.

As to *Charles*, tho' he was still in *Spain*, yet, instead of spending his Money in bribing the Electors, (as *Francis* did, particularly the Marquis of *Brandenburg*) he laid out his Money in raising numerous Forces, which he brought to *Francfort*. On the 28th of *June*, 1519, the Election came on, and *Charles* carried it by the Majority of one only, but was instantly declared Emperor, by the Name of *Charles* the Vth, or rather, *Charles Quint*, as he was then and still is called.

Charles *of* Spain *elected.*

Charles received with Joy the News of his Election to the Imperial Throne, but was under no little Concern at the Preparations carrying on for the Interview, and endeavoured to prevent it by certain Remonstrances he ordered his Ministers to make at the *British* Court, as well as by others to Sir *Richard Wingfield*, Deputy at *Calais*, which Sir *Richard* communicated to the Cardinal. And the *English* Admiral, then at *Calais*, apprehending those Remonstrances had some Weight, and might deserve to be considered, transmitted likewise an Account of them to Court. The Cardinal, in Answer to what was offered both by the Admiral and Sir *Richard*, said, "It did not "consist either with the Rules of Honour or Rea-"son, that a Prince should be under any Restraint, "in treating with the Ambassadors of his antient "Friends

" Friends and Allies, or that any Jealouſies or Suſ-
" picions could be juſtly entertained on Account of
" any Conventions to that End: For a Prince would
" certainly run the Hazard of loſing his beſt Friends,
" if they broke their Contracts, or treated them with
" Indifference or Neglect:" And, propoſing a Caſe which indeed afterwards happened, ſays further, " If
" the Emperor, in his Return to *Flanders*, ſhould
" deſign to land at *Dover*, in order to make a Viſit
" to the King and Queen, and the King ſhould de-
" cline to receive it, the Emperor might well con-
" clude from ſuch Refuſal, that he had very little
" Share in the Eſteem or Affection of his Uncle;
" and ſo publick a Slight might be the Means of
" our Prince's loſing his Friendſhip for ever." Upon the whole the Cardinal aſſured both the Admiral and Sir *Richard*, that the King was fully bent to proceed to the Interview, which ſtopt for the preſent any further Application on that Head.

It was obſerved, that upon the Election of *Charles* to the Empire, *Francis* was very uneaſy, and, by both ſo ardently ſolliciting the Friendſhip of *Henry*, it appeared they were exceeding jealous of each other, and looked as if a War would ſhortly enſue. Beſides, there were Differences of very great Importance, and extremely difficult to adjuſt, ſubſiſting between them. *Francis* had Pretenſions to the Kingdom of *Naples*; and, by the late Treaty *Charles* was bound to reſtore *Navarre* to *Henry d'Albert*, which was yet unperformed. *Charles*, as Heir to the Houſe of *Burgundy*, believed he had a Title to the Dutchy of that Name, pretending, that after the Death of the laſt Duke, his Great-grandfather, *Lewis* the XIth, having unjuſtly ſeized it, upon a bare Allegation that it was a Male-fee, though the contrary was evident, he had let his Title lie dormant during his Minority; but ſince he had been of Age he had Thoughts of reviving it,

it, and the Imperial Crown lately obtained very much induced him to perſiſt in that Reſolution. The Dutchy of *Milan* was another Cauſe of Diſpute, and it could not be denied that it was a Fief of the Empire; and tho' *Francis* conquered it, and was in Poſſeſſion of it, he never had been inveſted by the Emperor *Maximilian*, or ſo much as deſired it; *Charles* therefore alledged, it was his Duty to maintain the Right of the Empire, and to endeavour to diſpoſſeſs the King of *France* of that Dutchy. The Treaty of *Noyon* alſo occaſioned *Charles* to complain, who pretended *Francis* had extorted from him ſo diſadvantageous a Treaty, by threatning War when his Affairs neceſſarily required his Preſence in *Spain*, to take Poſſeſſion of his Kingdoms there; and that therefore the Reſignation of the Kingdom of *Navarre*, and the Penſion of 100,000 Crowns, to which he had been engaged under the ſpecious Pretence of a Maintenance for the Princeſs, his future Spouſe, were nothing elſe but the Price of the Peace he had been made to purchaſe. So that from theſe Obſervations the Readers may eaſily gather, that each Prince wanted not a Pretence for War.

Leo the Xth was not without his Fears, being ſenſible, to which Side ſoever the Ballance inclined, *Italy* muſt be the Seat of War, becauſe he conceived the Conteſts, about *Naples* and *Milan*, muſt be decided by Arms, and he be obliged to interpoſe in the Quarrel, though he had much rather have ſtood *neuter*.

Rapin remarks, "That *Charles* and *Francis* neg-
"lected nothing which they thought would pro-
"cure the King of *England*'s Friendſhip. The beſt,
"or rather the only Means to that End was to gain
"Cardinal *Wolſey* to their Intereſts, nor were they
"wanting in their Promiſes or Preſents to make
"him their Friend; they took Occaſion ſometimes
"to write to him on purpoſe to ſtile him *their Friend*,

"*their*

" *their Father.* In their Letters they extolled his " Virtue, his Prudence, his Capacity, in ſuch affected " Terms, that he muſt have been *blind* * not to ſee " they had further View than to expreſs their Eſteem " for him. *Wolſey* made uſe of theſe Teſtimonies of " their Friendſhip to obſerve to his Maſter, how " *formidable* he was to theſe two Monarchs, ſince " they did not diſdain even to *careſs his Miniſter*; " but withal it ſerved him to inſinuate how far his " Merit excelled that of other Miniſters. All this " produced the Effect he expected, *Henry* deemed " himſelf the Arbitor of *Europe*, and remained per- " ſuaded of his Favourite's Capacity, that he no " longer *ſaw* but with *his Eyes*, nor *acted*, but by *his* " *Advice.*"

For all this, it does not appear *Henry* haſtily engaged either on the Side of *Charles* or *Francis*; or that *Wolſey* at this time laboured to prevail on the King to take either one or the other's Part. In ſhort, neither *Wolſey* nor his Maſter were to be gained by a Parcel of fine Speeches; for, when Application was made to *Henry*, either to draw him to the one Side or the other, the King anſwered, " That, as he was " a common Friend to both of them, he would en- " deavour to compoſe their Differences;" but could not be prevailed upon to proceed any further. If a Favour was aſked on the Part of *Francis*, it was immediately granted, and ſo likewiſe on the Part of *Charles*. No ſooner was *Henry* aſked to ſtand God-father to one of *Francis*'s Sons, but it was immediately complied with. But, from theſe Conceſſions on the Part of *Henry*, *Rapin*, with his uſual Candour, being never out of his Way, goes on after this Manner:

" Theſe Things demonſtrate *Henry*'s happy Situa- " tion,

* If he was not *blinded*, what Crime was to be imputed to him? There appears none, notwithſtanding the mean Inſinuations that follow; nay, the contrary is evident.

" tion, and how glorious his Reign might have been, " had he wiſely improved thoſe Advantages; but, " unfortunately for him, inſtead of acting for him- " ſelf and his own Glory, he laboured in Effect for " his Favourite's Intereſt;" and, we ſuppoſe, to in-force the Aſſertion, deſcribes *Wolſey* as follows, " Thus " *Wolſey* was then at the Top of the Wheel; he was " favourite Prime Miniſter, Lord Chancellor, Admi- " niſtrator of the Biſhoprick of *Bath* and *Wells*, Arch- " biſhop of *York*, ſole *Legate a Latere*; *Campejus*, his " Colleague, being recalled, he had a Penſion from " the Emperor and the King of *France*,* and re- " ceived an immenſe Profit from his Chancellorſhip, " by the Privilege annexed thereto by the King. Be- " ſides this, the King never ceaſed making him Pre- " ſents, and giving him continual Occaſions of in- " creaſing his Incomes. On the other hand, the Pope, " the Emperor, the King of *France*, and the Re- " publick of *Venice*, ſtrove with Emulation to gain " his Good-will, and ſeemed, as I may ſay, to glory " in their Dependance upon him. The beginning " of the Year *Francis* the Iſt ſent him Letters Pa- " tent, whereby he conſented, that he ſhould alone " regulate the Ceremonies of his Interview, giving " him thereby an authentick Teſtimony of his Con- " fidence upon his Probity, in a Point in which " Kings are commonly very jealous.

" The Poſture of Affairs between *Charles* and *Fran-* " *cis* might have rendered *Henry*'s Reign very glo- " rious, had he not entirely have given himſelf up " to the *intereſted Councils* of Cardinal *Wolſey*.† He " had it in his Power to preſerve the Peace of *Eu-* " *rope*, by keeping the Ballance even between the " two Rivals, without ſuffering it to incline too much " to either Side. This was his grand Intereſt as well " as the Kingdom's, and accordingly this was his

* But forgot that from *Venice*.

† Only his *Ipſe dixit* ſtill.

" Reſolution: Hence it was he frequently engaged " on one or the other Side, but not always as the " Intereſt of *Europe*, the Welfare of his Realm, and " his own Glory required. Thus, whilſt he thought " he followed the Maxim of good Policy, he ſerved " (without perceiving it) to gratify the Paſſions of " his Miniſter." Here *Rapin* not only contradicts himſelf, but ſhews his rancoured Prejudice to *Wolſey*, and we are bold to ſay, if the ſame Methods were to be taken to miſrepreſent the Conduct of the beſt Man the World ever produced, if ſuch ſtrained Concluſions were to be drawn from his Proceedings, he might eaſily give an odious Turn to the moſt glorious Actions of his Life. But hear him again,

" It would have been hard to conceive to what " Height the Cardinal's *Pride* was carried, if all the " Hiſtorians had not taken care to deſcribe it, and " all in the ſame Colours.* The Legateſhip of *Cam-* " *pejus* ſetting that Cardinal upon a Level with him, " he could not long bear that Equality. By his Credit " at *Rome* he cauſed him to be recalled, and himſelf " appointed ſole Legate, with Power to viſit the Mo- " naſteries, and all the reſt of the Clergy of the " Kingdom, intimating how neceſſary it was to com- " mit the Reforming them to his Care; but this " was only to increaſe his Authority, and ſubject " the whole Church of *England* to his Orders. When " he ſaw himſelf inveſted alone with the Quality of " the Legate, he let looſe, if I may ſo ſay, the Reins " to his Vanity.† He ſaid Maſs after the Manner of " the

* 'Tis but too true, that the Hiſtorians have copied one from another, without enquiring into the naked Truth.

† We *cannot think* this *Parrot-like Hiſtorian* ever ſo much as ſaw CAVENDISH's *Secret Hiſtory*; or, if he had, he *muſt have been ſo blinded with Prejudice*, that he could not attend to any thing therein related in his Favour. *Where did ever leſs Pride, Vanity, or Oſtentation*, or more genteel Emulation or Facetiouſneſs appear, than *throughout* that *grand*

" the Pope himſelf; not only Biſhops ſerved him " therein, but Earls and Dukes giving him Water " and the Towel. When he *walked* into the City " two Croſſes were carried before him by two of the " talleſt Prieſts that could be found, mounted on the " higheſt Horſes.*

" One of theſe Croſſes was that of Legate, and the " other that of *York*. At firſt theſe Things ſerved " only for Diverſion to the People, who paſſed their " Jeſts on this external Pomp; but preſently after " were felt much more grievous Effects of the Power " aſſumed by the Legate."†

Almoſt every Action of *Wolſey* hath been interpreted as an Inſtance of his *Pomp*, *Ambition*, or *Inſolence*, notwithſtanding, upon a full Examination, moſt of them

grand Entertainment for the *French* Ambaſſadors? (See p. 33, &c. foregoing.) Does he not himſelf declare, in his Charge to the Stewards, &c. he ſo ordered it, that the *Frenchmen* might *make a glorious Report to the great Honour of his King and Country?* p 34. Where was Nature ever better diſplayed, and the true generous Soul of a Man, who was every Thing Life and Dignity could raiſe him to, better ſhewn, than in the Relation of his whole Conduct during this Banquet? See his grand Gueſts ſeated and once ſerved. (p. 36,) and himſelf coming in an Undreſs, all the Company riſing, he inſiſting on their ſitting; and in all this appears ſuch an eaſy, pleaſant, familiar and Gentleman-like Behaviour, that could never have accompanied a Wretch blowed up with the *Vanity* and *Ambition* Monſieur ſo much talks of. Nor does he afterwards pine, that the King his Maſter's Banquet exceeded his. And ſure no one, that knows any thing of a Court, can blame him for appearing at other Times in a Manner equal to the Dignity of the high Stations he filled. Have not our Chancellors, our Judges, and all our great Officers of State, their Intervals? Are they therefore to be condemned, as inſufferably imperious, for their Attendance and the ſtately, though becoming, Gravity they put on when in their reſpective Offices?

* Here either *Rapin* or Mr. *Tyndal*, makes the Cardinal *walk* and his Men *ride*.

† *Polidor Virgil*, *Hall*, *Stow*, *Herbert* and *Holingſhead* are the Hiſtorians placed in the Margent, and, though he forget his Friend *Burnet*, Mr. *Tyndal* has taken care to ſupply the Want in a marginal Note.

them will be found to be ſtrictly precedented. The Particular of the two Croſſes gave *Polidor Virgil* the Opportunity of making his uncharitable Reflection, and from this Author *Rapin* took his Account; tho' the learned *John Anſtis*, Eſq; ſays, "That what *Polidor* "endeavours to ſhew, as an Evidence of *Wolſey*'s Pride "and Vanity, is not particular or ſingular to the "Cardinal; for the ſame Honours, according to the "Cuſtom of *Rome*, were to be paid to every *Legate* "*de Latere* as to the ſovereign Pontiff himſelf; nay, "he might of Right uſe all Papal Enſigns and Orna- "naments, for which *Parius* (*de Reſignat.* l. 7, 9, 13. "11, 6, and 7.) produces the Vouchers."

As to that of *his ſaying Maſs after the Manner of the Pope himſelf, and of Dukes and Earls giving him Water and the Towel* on thoſe Occaſions, the firſt is juſtified by what we have before-mentioned; and the latter may be taken in another Senſe, than that which *Rapin* would here inſinuate; it being done at Church, it is not unlikely, the Lords ſo employed thought, that they did it not in Honour of *Wolſey*, but the Religion they profeſt; we may the rather ſo conclude, from the Cuſtom that prevails in *Roman* Catholick Countries at this Day, the greateſt Peers often kneeling in the Middle of the Church among the meaneſt of the People.

Rapin farther ſays, "The Grandeur, Riches, Power "and Authority, enjoyed by *Wolſey* in *England*, were "not capable of ſatisfying his Ambition, whilſt there "was ſtill one Step higher to which a Churchman "could aſcend. He had begun ſome time ſince to "take Meaſures to be Pope when the See ſhould "be vacant, and the King of *France* had now offered "him the Votes of the Cardinals; but, ſince *Charles* "was elected Emperor, *Wolſey* thought him moſt ca- "pable of procuring him the Papacy, and *probably** "continued a private Negotiation with him; for "that Purpoſe he gradually diſengaged the King his "Maſter

* *Gueſs-work* ſtill.

" Maſter from the Intereſt of *France*, to turn him to " the Emperor; mean while he believed he could " not, without too much diſcovering himſelf, hinder " the Interview of *Francis* and *Henry*, which had been " deferred till the Year 1520; but he well knew how " to prevent the ill Effects this Interview would " produce againſt the Emperor, his now Friend. Be- " ſides, he could not think of loſing the Pleaſure " of appearing before the Court of *France*, with a " Magnificence little inferior to that of a King, and " of ſeeing himſelf, in the Preſence of the *Engliſh*, " honoured and careſſed by the King of *France*, and " his whole Court, as he would *probably* * be. This " was an Opportunity which a Perſon fond of Pa- " geantry and Oſtentation could not foregoe.

" The Emperor had Reaſon to careſs Cardinal *Wol-* " *ſey*; he had met in *Spain* with unexpected Diffi- " culties. The *Caſtilians* and *Arragonians* were bent to " preſerve their Privileges, which were continually " attacked by the Emperor's *Flemiſh* Councellors. On " the other hand the Emperor, on the Pretence of " the Cruſade, publiſhed by the Pope, having de- " manded a Tenth of the Clergy, that Demand had " cauſed through *Spain* Troubles that very much em- " barraſſed that Prince. There had alſo been an In- " ſurrection in *Auſtria*, which was not appeaſed with- " out Difficulty. In ſhort, the King of *France* was " privately labouring to raiſe the Emperor Troubles " in *Naples*, *Sicily*, and *Navarre*, and to draw his " Allies from him. All this made *Henry*'s Friendſhip " ſo neceſſary to him, that its no *Wonder* he ſhould " endeavour to win the Cardinal on his Side, ſince " the Miniſter's Credit was the only Way to gain " the Maſter; the King of *France* uſed the ſame " Method." †

Luther

* Another *Conjecture* only.

† And who would not, we *wonder!* Is it not the ſhorteſt Way to do Buſineſs, to employ the beſt Inſtruments? And we do not find that there was ſo much as one illicit Practice made uſe of on either Side.

Further Account of Luther.

Luther wrote to *Alberi*, of the Houſe of *Brandenburg*, Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, to put him in mind of his Office, and intreats him to ſuppreſs the Pamphlets put out for recommending the *Indulgences*, and to order the Publiſhers to be leſs ſcandalous in their Harangues, leſt they might tend to cauſe a Rupture in the Church. He alſo ſent him his 95 Concluſions upon which he had diſputed at *Wittenburg*, in which Purgatory, Penance, and Indulgences were chiefly handled; and not without ſome ſatyrical Strokes upon the exceſſive Rhetorick of the *Dominicans*: Tho' all this was only in a problematical Way, without coming to any poſitive Deciſion. But, that the Difficulty of theſe Matters might be the better diſentangled, he invited all Men of Learning to come and handle the Point, and that thoſe who were not at Leiſure ſhould ſend their Opinion in Writing; proteſting at the ſame time, that he intended to determine nothing, but ſubmitted the whole Matter to the Judgment of the Church. However, as to the Opinions of *Thomas Aquinas*, and the other Schoolmen, he placed no implicit Belief on ſuch Authorities, neither could he go into their Sentiments, any further than they agreed with the *Holy Scriptures* and the Fathers of the Church.

The Archbiſhop returned no Anſwer; but not long after *John Teel*, a *Dominican* of *Francfort*, publiſhed ſeveral Theſes in direct Oppoſition to *Luther*, wherein he ſets forth the Pope's Authority, and the Benefit of Indulgences, with a great deal of Elocution, and was ſo hardy as to put *Leo* the Xth on a Parallel with the Apoſtle St. *Peter*. To this *Luther* replied, in a Letter to his own Biſhop, *Jeran*, and afterwards ſent a Copy to *John Stupitz*, deſiring it might be conveyed to the Pope. Soon after he wrote to *Leo* himſelf, and gives his Holineſs to underſtand what dangerous Doctrine was advanced by his Collectors, and how they abuſed his Authority to ſerve their Avarice; that he

he did not queſtion but great Complaints had been preferred againſt him, but he was altogether wronged; tho' 'twas true, he had publiſhed ſomething to check the Extravagances delivered by the Collectors in their Sermons, but that was only by way of Information; he therefore deſires his Holineſs not to give Credit to any Clamours againſt him, hinting, that, provided the Reports of his Adverſaries had been true, the Elector of *Saxony*, that prudent and pious Prince, would never have ſuffered him to live in his Dominions, neither ſhould he have received any better Countenance at the Univerſity of *Wittenburg*; that he would lay his Writings and his Life at the Pope's Feet; that whatever Deciſion ſhould come from his Holineſs, he ſhould look upon it as an Oracle from Heaven, and as if it had been pronounced by our Saviour himſelf; neither would he refuſe to die, if his Holineſs ſhould think he deſerved it.

Beſides others, one *John Eccius*, a Divine, publiſhed an Anſwer to theſe laſt Diſcourſes of *Luther*'s; in Anſwer to which he endeavoured to prove, that this *Eccius* had not fortified his Aſſertions with any Authorities from the Holy Scriptures and Fathers, but only advanced his own Fancy, countenanced with the Opinions of the Schoolmen. *Silveſter Prierias*, a *Dominican*, and Maſter of the ſacred Palace, ſeconded *Eccius* in the Diſpute, and dedicated his Piece to the Pope, ſetting forward with a great deal of Spirit, and ſeemed confident of Succeſs; but, by way of Caution, he laid down, as a kind of a *Poſtulatum*, "That the Pope was "Head of the whole Church: That in Matters re- "lating to Faith and Religion, the See of *Rome* was "infallible: That a Council, where the Pope aſſiſted, "had the ſame Privilege: That the Canon of Scrip- "ture was received upon the Authority of the Church, "in Conjunction with the Pope: That whoever re- "fuſed to receive the Doctrine taught by the Church "of *Rome*, or conteſted the Juriſdiction of that See,

"was

" was undoubtedly an Heretick." After he had intrenched himſelf, as he conceived, in this Shelter, he ventured upon the Controverſy.

To this *Luther* anſwered, and acquainted *Silveſter*, that he admired his Manner more than he underſtood it; but then he thought fit to follow his Method, ſo far as to lay down ſome Grounds for his Defence, deduced from the Holy Scriptures, from which he argued, " That we are not to take every Body's Do-
" ctrine upon truſt, but to prove all Things, and to
" make the *Word of God* the Standard of our Be-
" lief: That thoſe human Writings which keep alone
" to the Scriptures were only to be admitted with-
" out Reſerve; but as to the reſt we were left at
" our Liberty." From hence he proceeds to Indulgences, and affirms, " That the Collectors ought not
" to advance any new Doctrine or Methods, but be
" governed directly by the Directions of the Canon
" Law: That *Prierias* had not brought any Text of
" Scripture in Maintenance of his Poſition: That he
" reſted too much upon the Doctrine of *Thomas*
" *Aquinas*; and that this Doctor uſed to follow his
" own Sentiments too far, without having recourſe
" to the inſpired Writings: That upon this Account
" he could not admit the Reaſonings either of St.
" *Thomas* or *Prierias*: That he had both St. *Paul* and
" St. *Auſtin* for his Warrant: That it was cuſtomary
" among thoſe of the long Robe, to make good
" their Pleading from the Text of the Law; and
" that, in Matters of Religion, 'twas ſtill more ne-
" ceſſary, the Point ſhould be ruled by the Holy
" Scriptures."

By the way, the Doctrine of Indulgences had not been thoroughly examined in former Ages: Some only looked upon them as Relaxations of Diſcipline and Relief from canonical Penance, which was the moſt defenſible Opinion. Others believed, they diſcharged from Guilt, and were a Satisfaction to the Divine

Divine Juſtice; but how this could be done without ſomething by way of Compenſation was not ſo intelligible; for this Purpoſe they had recourſe to the Treaſure of the Church, that is, the Merits of ſupererogating Saints, together with thoſe of our Saviour; which they conceived might ſupply the Defects, and atone for the Miſperformance of other People. Now the diſpoſing of this Treaſure is ſuppoſed to be lodged with the Head of the Church, and upon this Foot ſtands the Strength of the Pope's Indulgences. The Controverſy grew warm upon Motion, and *Luther* always advanced ſome new Propoſitions as Occaſion offered. The Difference being thus widened, Pope *Leo* cited him to *Rome*, and wrote to the Duke of *Saxony* not to protect him; but, being afterwards ſollicited, that the Cauſe might be tried in *Germany*, he yielded to refer it to his Legate, *Cajetan*. This Cardinal had Inſtructions, that in caſe he found *Luther* diſpoſed to a Submiſſion, to offer him a Pardon, and encourage him with Promiſes of Preferment; in ſhort, he had almoſt a diſcretionary Commiſſion, being chiefly left to his own Conduct.

This Latitude proved unfortunate to the Court of *Rome*; for *Luther*, being a Man of no great Ceremony, and managing the Conference with unexpected Freedom, the Cardinal took upon him to check and menace him, and bid him be gone. Upon this *Luther* went from *Ausburg*, where the Conference was held, without further Reply; but, not long after, recollecting his Behaviour, he wrote to the Cardinal, and therein confeſſed he had uttered himſelf with too much Vehemence, and promiſed to be more reſerved for the future, ſaying, "He was willing to ſa-"tisfy the Pope, and diſpute no farther about Indul-"gences, provided his Adverſaries might be held to "the ſame Terms;" but, notwithſtanding this Offer, it ſeems, both Parties continued to write and inflame the Difference.

The Court of *Rome* was much diſpleaſed with the Cardinal's Management, and blamed him for treating *Luther* ſo ruggedly; whereas, on the contrary, he ſhould have won him with gentle Uſage, with Promiſes of Wealth and Honour, have bribed him high to incite him to his Duty, and tempted him with a Mitre or a Cardinal's Hat.

This falſe Step of *Cajetan* put the Pope upon another Expedient, which proved as unſucceſsful as the former. Being apprehenſive the Authority of his See might ſuffer in *Germany* by the preſent Controverſy, he publiſhed a Bull by way of Prevention, ſetting forth "the Virtue of Indulgences, and that Himſelf, "as Vicar of Chriſt, had Power to grant them both "for the Living and the Dead: That it was the "Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, the Mother of "all good *Chriſtians*, and that her Reſolutions of "Faith ought not to be diſputed." This was ſent to Cardinal *Cajetan*, who publiſhed it at *Lintz* in *Auſtria*.

By this *Luther* thought himſelf loſt at the Court of *Rome*, which made him ſally into further Freedoms, throwing off all Ceremony and Reſerve, and treated the Pope in a Manner upon the Level. Thus much the Reader may underſtand from his Appeal; 'tis true, he promiſes, "That when the Pope taught the Truth, "he would not oppoſe his Authority;" but then he takes the Liberty to add, "That Sin and Error are in-"cident to Mankind, and that his Holineſs was not "exempt from thoſe common Infirmities: That St. "*Peter*'s Succeſſors could not pretend a Privilege "above St. *Peter* himſelf; that this great Apoſtle fail-"ed once in his Conduct, and was ſharply reprimand-"ed by St. *Paul*: But, for his Part, he was no Match "for the Pope; for 'twas eaſy for ſo wealthy and "powerful a Prelate to cruſh any private Perſon, who "happened to differ from him: That in this Caſe "there was no other Remedy but to retreat to a Coun-

"cil;

" cil; and that here he reſolved to lodge his Cauſe,
" as being the laſt Reſort of Juſtice, and the higheſt
" Authority in the Church."

This Appeal made a great Noiſe, and was not without its Effect; for *Luther*, perceiving his Doctrine gain Ground, and his Party encreaſe, advanced to new Articles, and in his Oppoſition argued for the Reſtitution of the Cup, decried Auricular Confeſſion, and touched upon the Abuſes among the Monaſticks.

The Pope's Authority, and the received Doctrine being thus directly ſtruck at, 'twas thought proper to apply to ſtronger Remedies. To this Purpoſe the Pope publiſhes a Bull, condemning 42 Articles in *Luther*'s Doctrine, prohibits the Reading of his Books, and orders them to be burnt. The principal Points condemned related to Original Sin, Penance, the Holy Euchariſt, Indulgences, the Power of the Pope, the Authority of Councils, good Works, the Freedom of the Will, Purgatory, and Poverty; all which Tenets are called pernicious, ſcandalous, and offenſive to the Ears of good *Chriſtians*, &c.

This Bull, amongſt other Things, was blamed for fixing too general Cenſures, and condemning without Diſtinction; for the Pope had not ſtated the Quality of the Propoſitions condemned, nor told the World which of them were only falſe, and which of them heretical.

On the other ſide *Luther*'s Reſentments heightened, and he was reſolved to make Repriſals on his Holineſs. When he underſtood his Books had been burnt by the Univerſities of *Louvain* and *Cologn*, he ventured upon a Revenge of the ſame kind, drew the Univerſity of *Wittemberg* together, had a Fire made in a publick Square, and threw the Pope's Bull and the Decretals into it. This was an unuſual Piece of Courage at that Time of Day, and therefore he publiſhed a Manifeſto in Defence of his Proceedings, *&c.*

Affairs of Spain. 1519.

This Kingdom was now divided into two powerful Factions, the firſt eſpouſed that which had followed King *Ferdinand* and the Chancellor, the other thoſe that had been for King *Philip*; both which ſold all Preferments, and gathered ſuch Wealth, that they called the *Spaniards* their *Indians*: Beſides, the *Flemings* uſed the *Spaniards* like Slaves, and, do what they would, no Man could have Juſtice againſt them. The Emperor was hated, becauſe no Man could ſpeak to him but Monſ. *Geores* muſt be by; and the Emperor not well underſtanding *Spaniſh*, it made the People ſay, he was mad and fooliſh, as well as his Mother; and therefore unfit to govern, which could not be beaten out of their Heads a long Time: Tho' others, that converſed with him, declared the contrary. This they firſt muttered among themſelves; but, as ſoon as they heard he was going out of the Kingdom, and that he wanted Money to carry with him, the People fell into all manner of Invectives againſt him, and even broke out into open Rebellion, which was called the *Commons Wars*. The firſt of it begun in *Toledo*, headed by *Ferdinand de Avalos* and *John de Padillos*; which was followed by another Revolt in *Segovia*, and began in this Manner: The People were loud in their Complaints againſt the Government, and one Mr. *Melon*, an Under-officer, reproved them for ſpeaking diſreſpectful of their Governors, which ſo enraged the Aſſembly, that they ran to him, and, throwing a Rope about his Neck, dragged him thro' the Town in ſo violent a Manner, that, before they came to the Gallows, he was dead; but dead as he was they hung him up. Coming back they met with one *Rock Portelago*, a Companion of the other's, whom, after much opprobious Language, they dragged in the ſame Manner, and hung him up by the Heels, where he died. The next Day the City-Council met, and the Rioters broke in upon them, and ſeized Monſ. *Tordeſillas*, (who had been one of their

their Repreſentatives at the *Cortes*, or Parliament, and had conſented to the Tax demanded by the Emperor.) He begged they would hear him, but to no Purpoſe. He then prayed they would allow him to prepare to die, but in vain; and tho' the Churchmen came out with the bleſſed Sacrament, and begged for him on their Knees, yet thoſe cruel Wretches were deaf to all. In fine, they dragged him along the Street, beating him with the Pomels of their Swords, and at laſt hanged him up by the Heels between the other two. This being done, they turned out all the old Officers, put in new ones, and took the City into their own Hands. Theſe were followed by almoſt a general Revolt throughout the Kingdom, which gave the Emperor ſo much Uneaſineſs, that he offered to relinguiſh the *new Taxes* that had been demanded; but that would not do, the *Spaniards* continued in open Rebellion all this Year, and ſometime after the Emperor was returned into *Flanders*.

Rebellion in Auſtria. 1519.

The Emperor's Affairs in *Germany* were in no better Condition than in *Spain*, and, as ſoon as *Maximilian* was dead, there began a Tumult; for, finding in his Will, that he had ordered all publick Officers to continue in their Employments till one of his Grandſons came into the Country, and removed them. Thoſe, whoſe Ambition led them to aim at more than they could obtain, having concluded, the Emperor would never return out of *Spain*, a Mutiny aroſe, and the old Officers and Magiſtrates were put out of their Offices, and new ones placed in their Room: And they even ſent to the Emperor then at *Barcelona*, to deſire him to confirm thoſe Perſons in their Offices; but the Emperor returned them ſuch an Anſwer as fully convinced them that he knew his Authority; and the Mutineers, hearing that he was coming into *Germany*, and the Plague then raging among them, begun to loſe Courage. However, this Rebellion coninued till the

the Emperor came to the City of *Worms*, when he ſent them a new Set of Officers and Magiſtrates.

Mexico taken by the Spaniards. 1519. The Emperor, a great Comfort under theſe Calamities, received the agreeable News of the Diſcovery and Conqueſt of *Mexico*, by *Ferdinand de Cortes*, who was the Son of *Martin Cortes de Monroy*, of good Extraction tho' poor, and born at *Medellin* in the Year 1485. His Parents ſent him to *Salamancha* to be bred a Scholar, but, his Inclination not turning that way, he ſoon quitted the Univerſity. In 1504 he ſailed to the *Weſt Indies*, and was at the taking of *Cuba*; and was afterwards employed in ſeveral Expeditions, in which he had great Succeſs, and generally had the better of the *Indians* in all his Engagements, till at laſt he diſcovered *Mexico*, a mighty Empire, governed by *Montezuma*; and though he had but about 500 *Spaniards*, he was reſolved to proceed to *Mexico*, which many oppoſed, thinking it a Madneſs with ſuch an handful of Men to proceed ſo far among Millions of barbarous Enemies; but he declared he did not doubt their following him, and, if otherwiſe, he believed they would ſoon repent their Folly. This ſo encouraged them, that they all agreed to attend him, and they travelled three Days through a Country where they were as well ſupplied as if they had been in *Spain*. With this ſmall Army, conſiſting of 500 *Spaniards*, 15 Horſes, 7 ſmall Guns, 1300 *Indian* Soldiers, he engaged 150,000 *Indians*, who, ſeeing him on the March, ſcorned him ſo much, that they ſent him Fowls and other Proviſions; and, when they had eaten, the *Indians* fell on them by 20,000 at a time; ſo that the Fight laſted two Days, in which were an infinite Number killed and not one *Spaniard*, which made the People believe they were *Gods*, (or, perhaps, rather *Devils*) and therefore the third Day they ſent Preſents with this Meſſage, *If thou art a fierce God, eat theſe five Slaves; if a mild God*

God accept of that Frankincenſe; and if thou art a Man receive the Bread, Fowls, and Cherries. He anſwered, *He was no God; yet they were wrong they did not accept of his Friendſhip, as they had found to their Coſt.* Nevertheleſs, 20,000 of them the next Day gave him another Charge.

On the 6th of *September* 50 Men came to him loaden with Proviſions, but, being informed, that they were Spies, he cut off all their Heads. The *Indians*, aſtoniſhed that he ſhould diſcover their Deſigns, reſolved to oppoſe him no more.

Theſe Difficulties being overcome, Meſſengers came to *Cortes* from *Montezuma*, offering to pay the King of *Spain* ſuch a Tribute as he ſhould demand, provided he proceeded no further. He would not preſently diſmiſs the Meſſengers, but took them with him to ſhew them how he had puniſhed *Montezuma*'s Enemies, and he ſoon after took a City conſiſting of near 20,000 Houſes, who were Enemies to that Monarch. At this Place he diſcovered, by the Means of a *Mexican* Woman, a Conſpiracy that was formed to take away his and his Men's Lives, which he defeated, and killed 6000 of the Conſpirators. From hence he proceeded within two Leagues of *Mexico*, where he was met by a prodigious Company of great Men, and from thence he paſſed on o'er a Cauſeway which led to the City, where eight Men might paſs in a Breaſt. Being come to a Fort near *Mexico* 4000 Men of Note received him, who, bowing, paſſed by; advancing farther near the Drawbridge, where the freſh Water runs into the Salt, they met *Montezuma* on Foot, led, for the more State, by his Nephews, (who were cloathed alike, ſave that he had golden Shoes ſet with Diamonds) over whom was carried a rich Canopy of Gold and Green, borne upon the Heads of four Noblemen, followed by 3000 Gentlemen well clad, but bare-foot. When *Cortes* drew near he alighted, and would have embraced the Emperor, but

was

was not ſuffered; becauſe they look upon it as a Crime to touch him; though they complimented one another, and *Cortes* put about *Montezuma*'s Neck a Collar of Glaſs Beads, which made a gawdy Shew. They returned together to the Emperor's grand Palace, where he put two rich Collars about *Cortes*'s Neck, and ſaid, *Reſt and eat, for you are in your own Houſe, and I will return preſently.* This was the 8th of *November*, 1519. Some Time he ſpent in viewing the City, and at laſt reſolved on one of the boldeſt Attempts that ever entered into the Heart of Man, *viz.* to ſecure the Emperor amidſt 50,000 of his Subjects. Some *Indians* having given Intimation, that *Montezuma* intended to break the Bridges, in order to cut off all his Men, it made him haſten the Execution of his Deſign; and therefore, having placed his *Spaniards* in ſeveral ſmall Guards, between his Apartment and *Montezuma*'s Palace, he went to pay him a Viſit, where he complained of the many Plots laid to deſtroy him and his Men, particularly that of cuting the Bridges; the Emperor ſtormed, and ſaid it was falſe; but *Cortes* ſoon ſtopped his Mouth, telling him he was his Priſoner, and muſt conſent to be ſo, for, if any Violence were offered his Men, he muſt expect to ſuffer for it. They argued on it for four Hours, but at laſt the Emperor conſented, and was carried on Men's Shoulders; though he was not kept very cloſe, but was permitted to hunt. In ſome time after *Montezuma* embraced the Chriſtian Religion, and he and his People ſwore Allegiance to the King of *Spain*, and he died in the Year 1520.

Whilſt *Cortes* was thus in Poſſeſſion of *Mexico*, the Governor of *Cuba*, out of mere Envy, ſent ſome Forces in order to diſlodge him; but, after *Montezuma*'s Death, *Cortes* was obliged to quit *Mexico*, which he did on the 20th of *July*, 1520, for fear of being deſtroyed by the *Indians*, who engaged him, and killed above 450 *Spaniards*, he with much Difficulty eſcaping with his Life.

After

Cortes *Seizing the* Emperor Montezuma *in his Palace and making him a* Prisoner.

Parr Sculp

After which 50,000 *Haſcallans* came to his Aſſiſtance, who conducted him to their capital City. Here he muſtered his Men, and found he had 40 Horſe, 550 Foot, and 9 Field Pieces, with Powder enough; and he cauſed 13 Brigantines to be built, which were of great Service to him. When they were finiſhed he ſoon ſet out again for *Mexico*. Upon the *Holy Innocents* all the Country round about ſubmitted to him: Then he beſieged the City, and, what with Famine and the Plague, above 100,000 periſhed, and, on the 13th of *September*, 1521, *Cortes* took the City, the Plunder whereof furniſhed Gold and other precious Things enough to ſatisfy the Avarice of the *Spaniards*.

A Preſent worth 150,000 Ducats were ſent to the Emperor, with a full Account of what had been tranſacted. This Empire is now called *New Spain*, and extendeth itſelf above 300 Leagues.

But Mr. POPE ſeems to diſlike theſe rapatious Conqueſts.

Oh ſtretch thy Reign, fair Peace! *from Shore to Shore,*
Till Conqueſt ceaſe, and Slav'ry be no more;
Till the freed Indians *in their native Groves,*
Keep their own Fruits, and woo their ſable Love;
Peru *once more a Race of Kings behold,*
And other Mexico's *be roof'd with Gold.*
Exil'd by thee from Earth to deepeſt Hell,
In brazen Bonds ſhall barb'rous Diſcord *dwell,*
Gigantick Pride, pale Terror's gloomy Care,
And mad Ambition, ſhall attend her there.

Cortes, for this great Service, was only created a Marquis, tho' he might expect a greater Title. A Number of Fryars were ſoon ſent over to him, who, to ſtrike an Awe into the *Indians*, never ſpoke to them, but with one Knee on the Ground; and they were converted ſo faſt, that there were not Prieſts to baptize and inſtruct them. At preſent many of them

are *Chriſtians*, and ſome of them virtuous and learned Men.* *Spain* was now furniſhed with large Quantities of Gold and Silver from thoſe Countries, which greatly contributed to rendering *Charles* the Vth ſo powerful as hereafter appears.

As Money grew ſo plenty by Trade and the Diſcovery of theſe new Countries, the Reader will not be ſurprized to find more numerous Armies in the Field, greater Magnificence in Princes Courts, and the Dowries of Princeſſes much larger than before. But *Spain* firſt received the Gold and Silver from the new World, and was thereby enabled, in the Reign of *Charles* the Vth and *Philip* the IId, to aſpire to Univerſal Monarchy, which occaſioned great Expence of Treaſure, and Effuſion of Blood.

Affairs of Turky. 1519.

On the ſame Day that *Charles* was elected Emperor of *Germany*, *Solyman* peaceably acceded to the *Ottoman* Empire. This Prince was noted for an haughty Carriage, tho' fit for high Enterprizes; was an Enemy to *Chriſtendom*; notwithſtanding which the *Chriſtian* Princes, not conſidering the Dangers that followed them cloſe at their Heels, ſuffered this young Monarch to grow great, which they might at firſt have eaſily weakened, by employing him in the Defence of his own Kingdoms, inſtead of ſuffering him to invade and deſtroy his Neighbours.

Affairs of Hungary. 1519.

Lewis, King of *Hungary*, alone levied Soldiers to oppoſe this Grand Seignor, by reaſon the *Ottoman* Porte would not renew the Truce with him; whereupon he ſent his Ambaſſadors to all *Chriſtian* Princes, to requeſt their Aſſiſtance on this Occaſion, and from ſome he obtained Aid in Money; but nothing was done to that Prince's Prejudice this Year.

The

* For the further Particulars of this great Event, and the reſt of the Actions of *Cortes*, ſee the *Spaniſh* Hiſtorians.

The *Venetians*, on their Parts, renewed an Alliance with the new *Turkiſh* Emperor; and, having no Quarrel with their Neighbours, they were all this Year peaceably employed in carrying on Trade in different Parts of the World. *Affairs of* Venice. 1519.

In the mean time *Lorenzo de Medici*, the Pope's Nephew, was ſeized with a Diſtemper that laid him in his Grave. By this unexpected Accident that Branch of the Family of the *Medici* was reduced to the Perſon of the Pope, ſole lawful Deſcendant of *Coſmo the Great*, who firſt obtained the Sovereignty of *Florence*. Some Endeavours were uſed to perſuade his Holineſs to reſtore his Country to Liberty; but he did not love the *Florentines* well enough to let them enjoy ſo valuable a Bleſſing, he had taken ſo much Pains to deprive them of; reſolving therefore to keep that State, he ſent *Charles Julius de Medici*, Natural Son of *Julian* his Uncle, to govern in his Name; and ſhortly after he annexed the Dutchy of *Urbino* to the Church, and raiſed the Walls of the Capital, for fear *la Rovere* ſhould think of recovering it. *Affairs of* Rome. 1519.

During this Year *Italy* enjoyed almoſt an uninterrupted Tranquillity, nothing of Moment having happened, except what we have mentioned under the Head of *Martin Luther*'s Proceedings.

Now, to return home, Cardinal *Wolſey* this Year eſtabliſhed a Legatine Court at *Weſtminſter*, of which he made his chief Scribe the famous *Stephen Gardiner**, an Account of the Proceedings of which Court pleaſe to take from *Affairs of* England. 1519.

* He was born at *Bury St.-Edmund*'s, in the County of *Suffolk*, but of what Parentage is uncertain; for ſome of our beſt Hiſtorians ſay, he was of much nobler Deſcent than was commonly reported; and tho' he took the Name of *Gardiner* from his ſuppoſed Father, yet he was then believed to be the natural Son of *Richard Woodville*, who was Brother to Queen *Elizabeth*, *Edward*

Lord *Herbert*, who ſays, " That *Wolſey*, in reſpect to " his Legatine Court, and employing a Judge in it, " was charged with much Rapine and Extortion: For " making an Enquiry into the Life of every Body, " no Offence eſcaped Cenſure and Puniſhment, unleſs " privately they gave Money, of which they found " two Commodities, one that it coſt leſs, the other " that it exempted them from Shame. Thus, as the " Rules of Conſcience are in many Caſes of greater " Extent than thoſe of the Law, ſo he found Means " of ſearching into their ſecret Corners: Beſides, un- " der this Colour he arrogated Power to call in que- " ſtion the Executors of Wills and the like. He " ſummoned alſo all religious Perſons, of what ſort " ſoever before him, who, caſting themſelves at his " Feet, were grievouſly chidden and terrified with Ex- " pulſion, till they had compounded; beſides, all ſpi- " ritual Livings that fell were conferred on his Crea- " tures.

" The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, underſtanding how " all Orders were thus ranſacked by the Cardinal, goes " to the King and acquaints him with it. The King " replies, *That he ſhould not have heard thereof but by* " *him*; adding, *that no Man is ſo blind any where as* " *in his own Houſe*; *therefore, I pray you*, ſays he, *go* " *to*

ward the IVth's Wife, and was thereby kin to *Henry* the VIIIth, in the ſecond and third Degree of Conſanguinity, which was alſo remembered upon another Occaſion; for a credible Author, writing on the Behalf of the married Clergy, ſays, " It is no " wonder that he and Biſhop " *Bonner* were ſuch Enemies to " Marriage, ſince they were " both born in Adultery:" Nor was he obliged by Nature for his Mien, or the Structure of his Limbs; for one that lived in his Time gives this Deſcription of him, " That he was of a ſwar- " thy Complexion, a hanging " Look, frowning Brows, his " Eyes ſunk an Inch within his " Head, hook-noſed, wide No- " ſtrils, always ſnuffing into the " Wind, a Sparrow Mouth, with " great Hands, and long Talons, " rather than Nails, on his Feet, " which made him walk very " uneaſy." He had his Educa- tion firſt at a Grammar School, and then was removed to *Trinity-College* in *Cambridge*.

" *to* Wolſey, *and tell him if any thing be amiſs, that he* " *amend it.* This grave Perſon hereupon admoniſhes " him, and afterwards particularly told him, that in " the meddling with the laſt Will and Teſtament of " the Dead, he aſſumed a Power not ſo much as " claimed by the Pope himſelf, and, for diſpoſing of " ſome Gifts of the Nobility and other great Perſons, " he thought he took too much upon him. All the " Uſe *Wolſey* made thereof, was to hate the Archbi- " ſhop, with whom he was formerly offended; and, " as *Polydor* hath it, he ſtiled himſelf in the Subſcrip- " tion of his Letter, *Frater Gulielmus Cantuarienſis*; " yet, leſt the Archbiſhop ſhould do him ill, he tem- " pered his Speech for the Time, but ſhortly after " his Agent, *John Allen*, being accuſed by one *John* " *London*, a Prieſt, it appeared ſufficiently, that all the " former Allegations againſt *Wolſey* were true, which " made our King rebuke the Cardinal ſo ſharply, that " after that Time he became, if not better, more " wary than before."

Mr. *Collier* ſays, (which he likewiſe admits was extracted from *Polydor Virgil*) " A Bull was procured to " make *Wolſey Legate a Laterè*. By this Character he " was qualified not only to viſit the Monaſteries, but " the whole Clergy. He had likewiſe an Authority " to diſpenſe with the Law of the Church for a Year; " which Term was to commence from the Date of " the Bull. The Exerciſe of this Authority was a " Check upon the Biſhops Juriſdiction, and proved " very invidious to the Cardinal: Beſides, it was " thought he was over rigorous in the Management " of his Function; and that in the Account of his " Viſitation, tranſmitted to the Pope, he had laid too " heavy Imputation upon the Monks and Clergy. He " was complained of for over-ſtraining his Figure, " and, being too magnificent in his Family. He is " alſo cenſured for erecting a Legate's Court, and for " making too narrow an Enquiry into the Conduct

" and

" and Manner of others; inſomuch that ſcarce any " Miſcarriage could eſcape without Diſcipline, unleſs " the Parties gave a Bribe for Connivance; and thus " Conſcience extends further than Law. In many Caſes " he was let into People's Mind, and made Maſter of " their Secrets."

Theſe Charges being both taken from *Polydor Virgil*, that virulent Enemy of the Cardinal's and diſingenuous Hiſtorian, as we made appear in Vol. II. p. 171, 172, can be but of little Weight with a judicious Reader: And that Part in Lord *Herbert*'s, relating to the Archbiſhop's applying to the King, muſt be wrong, or *Rapin*'s Charge againſt *Wolſey* appears ſtill more erronious, when he tells the Story of the Archbiſhop's quitting the Court and retiring into the Country. However it is not to be wondered at, if *Canterbury* was againſt *York*, for they ſeemed to have been very oppoſite in their Diſpoſitions. *Warham* was an old ſubtle Miniſter, and a great Lover of Money, which he collected together to enrich his private Family only. *Wolſey* certainly acquired great Wealth, but could not be called a Lover of Money, becauſe he quickly diffuſed it up and down in his native Country, for the Grandeur and Benefit of the Publick, which no one can deny, for we feel the good Effects of his publick Spirit even at this Day.

As to the Charge of *Wolſey*'s being *over rigorous* in reforming the Abuſes crept in among the Clergy, he was ſo far from being blamed, that he was greatly commended for it both by Archbiſhop *Warham* and Biſhop *Fox*; which the following Letter, wrote in *Latin*,* by the latter will in great meaſure evince.

The Right Reverend Father in God, Dr. Fox, *Biſhop of* Wincheſter *to the* CARDINAL.

" THE Satisfaction and Pleaſure, moſt Reve- " rend Father, was inexpreſſibly great, which " I

* See the Collection annexed to *Fiddes*'s Life of *Wolſey*.

" I received from your laſt Letter, by which I am " informed, that your Grace is determined to reform " the whole Body of the Clergy, and that you have " notified and prefixed the Day on which you will " ſpeedily begin and proceed upon that Work, for " which I have truly no leſs ardently wiſhed than did " *Simeon*, mentioned in the *Goſpel*, to ſee the much " deſired and expected *Meſſiah*; and ſince I have received " theſe Letters of your Lordſhip's, I perſuade my- " ſelf, that I have in a manner a ſenſible Demonſtra- " tion of a more entire and perfect Reformation of the " *Engliſh* Eccleſiaſtical Hierarchy, than I could expect, " or even hope to ſee effected, or ſo much as attempt- " ed in this Age.

" I endeavoured, as 'twas my Duty, to execute the " ſame Deſign within the Compaſs of my own ſmall " Juriſdiction, which your Lordſhip will ſoon finiſh " in both the large Provinces of this Kingdom. For " the Space of three Years this important Affair was " the great End of my Study, Labour and Atten- " tion, till I diſcovered what before I had not ima- " gined, that all Things, relating to the primitive " Simplicity of the Clergy, (eſpecially of the Mo- " naſtick State) were perverted either by Indulgences " or Corruption, or elſe become obſolete or exploded " by the Iniquity of the Times. As this in a declin- " ing Life over-powered my Inclination and Vigilance, " ſo it took from me all Hopes of ever ſeeing a Re- " formation even in my own particular Dioceſs; but " now I conceive, from your Lordſhip's moſt accept- " able Letter, an aſſured Hope and full Expectation " of ſeeing a Reformation both publick and univer- " ſal; for I am fully perſuaded from many Inſtances, " that whatever your Lordſhip may at any time deſign " or undertake, as it will be wiſely concerted, your " Prudence and Reſolution will accompliſh without " Difficulty or Delay.

" Of

" Of ſo ſurprizing an Extent is your Knowledge " of divine and human Affairs, ſo extraordinary " your Favour and Intereſt with our Sovereign Lord " the King, and with his Holineſs the Pope, (Ad- " vantages your Lordſhip having alſo improved) " that you have acquired the moſt exalted Cha- " racter in the whole World; and certainly, in Con- " ſequence of your moſt renowned Negotiation, the " Fruits of which having, by your ſole Conduct, " compoſed the Difference and ſettled the Peace " among *Chriſtian* Princes; you have determined to " employ yourſelf in reforming and ſettling the Ec- " cleſiaſtical State and Diſcipline, for which you will " deſerve ſubſtantial and immortal Honour from God " and all Poſterity, and to be diſtinguiſhed by a " Name ſo much ſuperior to that of any other, " who in the Memory of Man hath been ſent hi- " ther or elſewhere, in Quality of *Legate*, from " the Pope.

" As Peace is more to be deſired than War, and " the Clergy are, or ought to be, more holy and ve- " nerable than the Laity, while the Names of ſeve- " ral other Legates are buried in Oblivion, theſe two " Legates, who yet left the Conſtitutions framed " by them, leſs perfect, on Account of their too " ſpeedy Return to *Rome*, are juſtly celebrated and " eſteemed throughout the whole World, what Time " or Prejudice will be able to eraſe or obſcure the " Honour and Luſtre of your Grace's Character, " when you ſhall reſtore the whole Eſtate of the *Eng-* " *liſh* Clergy, and of the Monaſteries, to their pri- " mitive Rules and Dignity, and exact Laws for their " Preſervation and laſting Eſtabliſhment, Laws " which you ſhall cauſe to be confirmed and recom- " mended, by being carefully and conſcientiouſly ob- " ſerved?

" I doubt not but your Grace will, with leſs Diffi- " culty and greater Succeſs, effect this Buſineſs, ſince

" our

" our moſt Chriſtian King, by whoſe Encouragement
" and Advice, as I conceive, you have taken upon
" you this Taſk, will ever to your Deſires contribute
" his Authority and Aſſiſtance; and the Prelates, the
" Epiſcopal eſpecially, will chearfully concur by their
" beſt Endeavours: And, as I judge by myſelf, and
" ſo far as my own Mind ſuggeſts to me, this Re-
" formation of the Clergy and Religion will ſo abate
" the Calumnies of the Laity, ſo advance the Ho-
" nour of the Clergy, and ſo reconcile our Sove-
" reign Lord the King and Nobility to them, and
" be ſo much more acceptable to God, than all the
" Sacrifices we can offer, that I intend the ſhort
" Courſe of Life I have now to run ſhall be en-
" tirely devoted to the Advancement of it: A fur-
" ther Teſtimony of which my Zeal I ſhall give at
" the Day appointed by your Lordſhip's Letter, if
" God ſhall ſo long grant me Life and Health.
" In the mean time, I ſhall daily and inceſſantly
" pray to God, that he would keep your Lord-
" ſhip in Safety, and give Succeſs to all your Un-
" dertakings." *

This Letter ſhews the Eſteem and Friendſhip the Biſhop ſtill retained for *Wolſey*, and ſufficiently refutes that Part of *Rapin*, where he alledges the Biſhop retired diſcontented to his Dioceſe, when he found *Wolſey* in the Height of Favour with the King.

This Year the Cardinal was pleaſed to receive into his Family ſeveral Noblemen and Gentlemen's Sons, who were placed there as in a Sort of Univerſity,

* Can any generous Mind, after reading this one Epiſtle, have any other than a mean Opinion of the old Beſpatterers and preſent Traducers of this great Cardinal's Character? whoſe gally Pens, one would think, from this and other ample Teſtimonies of him, ſhould have been dropt long ago: But we are confirmed in our Belief, they never took the Trouble to ſearch after them, and, as we have hinted before, were too guilty of taking inviduous Reports upon Truſt.

for their better Education and Improvement in all Politeneſs; and to take into his Service *George Cavendiſh**, of *Glemford*, in the County of *Suffolk*, Eſq; made him his *Gentleman-Uſher*, and ſhewed a more than ordinary Eſteem for him.

This Year the King was pleaſed to diſmiſs out of his Service four of the Officers of his Privy-chamber, for forgetting themſelves and their Duty, being too familiar with the King, as *Stow* ſays, and in their ſtead was pleaſed to appoint Sir *Richard Wingfield*, Sir *Richard*

* This Gentleman continued with the Cardinal to his Death, and wrote that Hiſtory of his Life, we have introduced in the Courſe of this Work. Mr. *Collins*, in his *Britiſh Peerage*, ſays, his Name was *William* in Oppoſition to what Lord *Herbert* affirms; tho' he agrees, that his Daughter married into the noble Family of the *Pierpoints*; and both Mr. *Collins* and the late Biſhop *Kennet* aſſert, that this worthy Gentleman was one of the great Anceſtors of *William Cavendiſh* Earl of *Devonſhire*, (the third Earl of this noble Houſe) who died in the Year 1684, and was ſucceeded by *William* Lord *Cavendiſh* his Son, a Gentleman that had highly diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the Cauſe of Liberty; and in the Reign of King *James* the IId, the Earl purſued the ſame Cauſe with greater Zeal.

This Nobleman had been very rudely inſulted within the Verge of the Court by Col. *Culpepper*, for which he took no other Satisfaction than giving him his Pardon, upon Condition he ſhould never more appear in *Whitehall*; but, immediately after the Defeat of the Duke of *Monmouth*, the Colonel was encouraged to ſhew himſelf at Court, and was riſing to be a Creature of it. The Earl of *Devonſhire* meeting him in the King's Preſence-Chamber, and receiving from him, as he thought, an inſulting Look, he took him by the Noſe, led him out of the Room, and gave him a deſpiſing Blow with the Head of his Cane: For this bold Act the Earl was proſecuted upon an Information in the *King's-Bench*, and had an exorbitant Fine of 30,000 *l.* impoſed upon him, and was committed, tho' a Peer, to the *King's-Bench* Priſon, till he ſhould make Payment of it. He was never able to bear any Confinement that he could break from, and therefore he eſcaped and went home to his Seat at *Chatſworth*. Upon the News of his being there, the Sheriff of *Derbyſhire* had a Precept to apprehend him and bring him to Town; but he invited the Sheriff to his Seat, who kept him a Priſoner of Honour till he had compounded for his Liberty, by giving Bond to pay the full Sum of 30,000 *l.* which Bond had this providential Diſcharge, being found among the Papers

Richard Jerningham, Sir *Richard Weſton*, and Sir *William Kingſton*: And his Majeſty was pleaſed to make ſeveral other Changes in his Houſhold, baniſhing from Court all light and diſorderly young Noblemen and Gentlemen, purſuant to the Advice of his Prime Miniſter; ſo that whatever might be the King's Sentiments in reſpect to the young gay Courtiers, in the Beginning of his Reign, his Diſpoſition was now greatly altered, entertaining in his Family grave and antient

Papers of King *James* the IId, it was given up by King *William*.

After the Abdication of King *James*, in the Parliament held in the Year 1689, the Earl complained of the Treatment he had met with in the Court of *King's Bench*, whereupon the Houſe of Lords referred the Caſe to a Committee, who, on *April* the 22d, made the following Report: 'Their Lordſhips are of Opinion, that the Proceedings againſt the Earl of *Devonſhire*, in the Court of *King's-Bench*, in *Eaſter* Term, in the third Year of King *James* the IId, upon an Information for an Aſſault upon Mr. *Culpepper*, wherein his Lordſhip's Plea of Privilege of Parliament was over-ruled, and was fined thirty thouſand Pounds, and thereupon committed to the *King's-Bench* in Execution, was a great Violation of the Privileges of the Peers of this Realm. Their Lordſhips are likewiſe of Opinion, that thoſe Judges, who ſat in the ſaid Court, when the ſaid Judgment was given, and the ſaid Commitment made, ſhould be required to attend at the Bar of this Houſe, to anſwer for the great Offence which they have committed thereby.' Hereupon the Houſe ordered, that the Clerk of the Crown-Office in the *King's-Bench* ſhould bring into the Houſe the Records of that Office, wherein the Proceedings againſt the Earl of *Devonſhire* were entered; and that the Keeper of *Newgate* ſhould bring in ſafe Cuſtody to the Bar of the Houſe Sir *Robert Wright*, and that Sir *Richard Holloway* and Mr. Juſtice *Powel* ſhould attend the Houſe on a Day appointed.

Accordingly, on *Monday*, *May* the 6th, Sir *Robert Wright* and Sir *Richard Holloway* being brought to the Bar, and Mr. Juſtice *Powel* being in his Place, they were ſeverally aſked what they had to ſay for themſelves in this Buſineſs? Mr. Juſtice *Powel* ſaid to this Effect: 'It was his great Misfortune that he was miſguided by ſome Books, which he looked on as Authorities, which he finds, by their Lordſhips Judgments, are not ſo; he humbly begged their Lordſhips and the Earl of *Devonſhire*'s Pardon. As to the Fine, he looked upon three thouſand Pounds to be enough. His

antient Servants, in the room of thoſe who had been guilty of too much Levity.

Before the Concluſion of this Year the King ſat in the Star-chamber, attended by Cardinal *Wolſey* and other Peers of the Realm; and *Hall* tells us, "That "there were brought before him the Lord *Ogle*, the "Lord *Howard*, Sir *Matthew Brown*, Sir *William* "*Bulmer*, and *John Scott* of *Camberwell*, being charged "with divers Riots and other Miſdemeanors;" where his Majeſty reprimanded Sir *William Bulmer* in particular,

'His Silence in that Buſineſs 'was his greateſt Fault, for 'which he alſo begged Pardon.'

Then Sir *Robert Wright* ſaid to this Effect: 'That, as to the 'Breach of Privilege, they were 'miſguided by Precedents. As 'to the Fine, which is uſually 'ſet according to the Quality 'and Eſtate of the Perſon fined, 'it came from the Puny Judge '30,000 *l.* and ſo to him laſt, 'according to the Courſe of the 'Court; and if he was Miſtaken 'he begged Pardon, for he ne-'ver had the leaſt Diſreſpect for 'the Earl of *Devonſhire*.'

Laſtly, Sir *Richard Holloway* ſpoke to this Effect: 'That he, 'as ſecond Judge, pronounced 'the Fine 30,000 *l.* which was 'ſet, *Nemine Contradicente*, and 'if a leſſer Fine had been pro-'poſed, he ſhould have accepted 'it, and did not juſtify the Pro-'ceedings, but looked upon it 'as an exceſſive Fine, and beg-'ged my Lord *Devonſhire*'s Par-'don, and ſubmitted all to their 'Lordſhips.'

The Lords asked them, *Whether they had no Diſcourſe together before concerning the ſaid Fine?* Sir *Robert Wright* denied it; and Sir *Richard Holloway* declared, 'He had no Direction from ei-'ther the King or Chancellor 'concerning the ſaid Fine.' But Mr. Juſtice *Powel* appealed to the Memory of Sir *Richard Hol-loway*, that there was a Diſcourſe of the Fine five or ſix Days be-fore, at the Lord Chancellor's, and ſaid, 'The Lord Chancel-'lor firſt propoſed 20,000 *l.* but 'afterwards ſaid it would be bet-'ter if 30,000 *l.* and then the 'King might abate 10,000 *l.* 'To this he declared his Diſlike 'to the other Judges, but not 'before the Chancellor.'

After Debate, the Houſe were of Opinion, That the Court of 'King's-Bench, in over-ruling 'the Earl of *Devonſhire*'s Plea 'of Privilege of Parliament, it 'being the uſual Time of Pri-'vilege, did thereby commit a 'manifeſt Breach of the Privi-'lege of the Parliament. And 'that the Fine of 30,000 *l.* 'impoſed by the Court of *King's* 'Bench, upon the Earl of *De-'vonſhire*, was exceſſive and ex-'orbitant, againſt *Magna Char-'ta*, the common Right of the 'Subject, and the Law of the 'Land.' And on *May* the 7th the

far, becauſe he, having been his ſworn Servant, had quitted his Poſt, and entered into the Service of the Duke of *Buckingham*, and declared, "That none "of his Servants ſhould hang on another Man's "Sleeve, but what he thought of his leaving his "Service, and the Duke's entertaining of him, he "would not then mention." Sir *William* immediately fell on his Knees, begging the King's Mercy, which he at firſt refuſed to grant him, but at laſt his Majeſty was moved to Pity, and granted his Requeſt;

the Houſe heard from the Judges what Caſes and Precedents there were in the Laws for the Commitment of a Peer of this Realm in Execution for a Fine. And on *May* the 15th their Lordſhips heard what the Perſons, who had given Judgment againſt the Earl, could ſay for themſelves to juſtify their Proceedings; and the King's Counſel gave their Attendance, but offered nothing therein. Whereupon, after full Conſideration, their Lordſhips did affirm their former Judgment, and farther declared and adjudged, 'That no Peer of this Realm, 'at any Time, ought to be com-'mitted for the Non-payment 'of a Fine to the King.'

When the Earl of *Devonſhire* had obtained this Right and Honour for himſelf and his Fellow-peers, and for his and their Poſterity, he was as much concerned for redreſſing the Injuries done unto the Commons, and to the particular Sufferers among them, and promoted a Repeal of ſeveral unjuſt Attainders, and helped to prevail, in the Houſe of Lords, to appoint a Committee 'to examine who were the 'Adviſers and Proſecutors of the 'Murders of the Lord *Ruſſel*, 'Colonel *Sidney*, Sir *Thomas* '*Armſtrong*, Mr. *Cornish*, and 'others.' He was ſo averſe to all manner of Injuſtice and Oppreſſion, that he was always ready to protect and deliver the very Enemies of the Government from any illegal Hardſhip. He remembered his Maſter King *William*'s Saying, 'That he 'came over to defend the *Pro-'teſtants* and not to perſecute the 'Papiſts.' Thoſe *Roman* Catholick Gentlemen, who lived near him in the Country peaceably and quietly, he treated as Neighbours and Friends, and they bore a great Reſpect to him.

On the 30th of *April* 1694 the Earl was created Marquis of *Hartington*, and Duke of *Devonſhire*. He hated the very Name of a Tyrant; his Pen was never ſharp but on that Subject.

O deſpicable State of all that groan,
Under a blind Dependency on One!

How

queſt; though at the ſame time he was pleaſed further to declare, "That he would not have one Part "of his Subjects repine at his granting Favours to "the other, for that he ſhould alternately beſtow "Fa-

How far inferiour to the Herds, that range
With native Freedom o'er the Woods and Plains?
With them no Fallacies of Schools prevail,
Nor of a Right Divine the nauſeous Tale;
Can give to one among themſelves the Pow'r,
Without Controul, his Fellows to devour.
To Reaſoning human Kind alone belong,
The Arts to hurt themſelves by reas'ning wrong.

In this bright Poem which he intitled, *An Alluſion to the Biſhop of* Cambray's *Supplement of* Homer, he gives the Biſhop, who had been Preceptor to one of the *French* Princes theſe ſoft Words,

There is in Virtue, ſure, a hidden Charm,
To force Eſteem, and Envy to diſarm;
Elſe, in a flatt'ring Court, you ne'er had been deſign'd,
T' inſtruct the future Troublers of Mankind.

Biſhop *Kennet* ſums up his Grace's Character in the following Words, 'It is acknowledged by all that converſed with him, that his Lordſhip had a Reverence for the Scriptures, read them with a diligent Eye, and defended whatever he thought the fundamental Doctrines of them. He looked deep into the *Socinian* Controverſy, and declared his Judgment freely againſt thoſe Pretenders to Reaſon; and was as much offended at any Advocates, who, he thought, helped to betray the orthodox Cauſe. He treated the Biſhops with great Eſteem and Reſpect, and all the Clergy with a decent Regard to their Function; and never made his Company uneaſy to them or to any others by a prophane Jeſt, or by any ſhocking Expreſſion. His greateſt Rebuke to a Clergyman, who meddled in ſome Affairs, which he thought not pertinent to him, was only this, *Sir, remember you are to preach on* Sunday *next.*'

The Duke died in the Year 1707 and was ſucceeded in his Honour and Eſtate by *Willliam*, Marquis of *Hartington* his Son, whoſe faithful Service to his Country no Time will blot out the Remembrance of; and the preſent Heir of this noble Family is his Grace *William* Duke of *Devonſhire*, (Grandſon of the firſt Duke of *Devonſhire*) Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and one of the Lords Juſtices in his Majeſty King *George* the IId's Abſence abroad. He has four Sons and two Daughters living. The Eldeſt, ſtiled the Marquis of *Hartington*, is now one of the Knights of the Shire for *Derby*.

" Favours on them all." He took Sir *William* immediately into his Service, ſaying to him, *If he ſerved him faithfully, it ſhould not be forgot:* And was pleaſed to grant his Pardon to the Lord *Howard*, and Sir *Matthew Brown*; but told the Lord *Ogle*, " though he humbly beſeeched his Mercy, " That " the Charge againſt him was no leſs than Murder, " which was an Offence of the higheſt Nature, and " that therefore he remitted him to be tried accord- " ing to Law."

His Majeſty, having proceeded thus far, departed the Court, and, in his way to his Barge, was pleaſed to confer the Honour of Knighthood on *James Yarſford*, Lord Mayor of the City of *London*.

Affairs of Scotland. 1519.

Francis the Iſt having detained the Duke of *Albany* in *France*, to curry Favour with *Henry* the VIIIth, *Rapin* in a tedious Tone ſays, " It was very eaſy to perceive why he op- " poſed the Duke's Return; his Deſign being to " throw *Scotland* into Trouble and Confuſion, that " he might have an Opportunity to interpoſe in the " Affairs of that Kingdom, under Colour of ſupport- " ing the young Prince, his Nephew. He could " not therefore execute it better than by fomenting " Diſcord among the Nobility, which the Regent's " Preſence might have remedied; but the War, " which afterwards broke out between *Charles* and " *Francis*, and wherein he was concerned, prevented " the proſecuting his Deſigns againſt *Scotland*. Pro- " bably this ſaved the Kingdom, which otherwiſe " was in great Danger of being conquered by the " *Engliſh*."

Affairs of Ireland. 1520.

THIS Year the Earl of *Kildare* was diſcharged from his Office of Deputy or Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*,* which was con-

ferred

* It is an Iſland ſeated on the *Weſtern* Side of the Channel that flows between it and *Great Britain*, next to which it is the greateſt in *Europe*:

ferred on Admiral *Thomas Howard*, Earl of *Surry*, who went over to his Government in the Beginning of *April* with a thouſand Men, and remained there two Years, in which Time he had many Engagements with the Natives, and reduced the Earl of *Deſmond* to Reaſon; held a Parliament at *Dublin* on the 4th of *June*, 1521, which made ſeveral Laws for the Good of the State, and ſoon after he returned to *England*, and was ſucceeded in his Government by the Earl of *Ormond*.

Kildare, we are told, was ſummoned before the Council on his Arrival in *England*, being charged with Male-Adminiſtration in his Office: *Speed* gives us this Account of the Affair.

" The

Europe: It extends from *North* to *South* about 300 *Engliſh* Miles, and from *Eaſt* to *Weſt* 180. It contains near 17,000,000 of *Engliſh* Acres of Land, and is in Proportion with *England* and *Wales* as 17 to 30.

This Country produces good Soldiers and Seamen, has a Number of good Harbours, is very fertile, has Plenty of Fiſh both freſh and ſalt, Fowl wild and tame, and all ſorts of Fleſh and Corn, and every Thing neceſſary for the Life of Man: But in ſome of theſe *England* has the Advantage by Improvement and good Huſbandry. The *Iriſh* Rivers are both more numerous and more clear; the *Shannon* is bigger than the *Thames*, and might be made navigable almoſt two hundred Miles. The Air indeed in *England* is more ſerene, and conſequently hotter in Summer and colder in Winter; yet *Ireland* is the healthier Country, ſeldom having any peſtilential Diſeaſes in it. It is obſervable, that nothing venomous will live in it; there are indeed Spiders but not poiſonous, and the Country breeds the largeſt Grey hounds in the World.

From *Henry* the IId's Time there has been a Succeſſion of Lords Lieutenants, Deputies, and Juſtices appointed by *England* for the Government of it; and by *Poyning*'s Law, (See Vol. I. P. 145, 146) " All Statutes made in " *England* before that Time are " in Force in *Ireland*, and by " ſpecial Words our Statutes " may bind them:" But yet they have Parliaments.

By the Stat. 6 *Geo.* 1. Ch. 5. It is enacted, " That the King- " dom of *Ireland* is ſubordinate " and dependant as inſeperably " annexed to the Crown of *Great* " *Britain*: That the Parliament " of *Great Britain* hath Autho- " rity to make Laws and Sta- " tutes to bind them: That the " Houſe of Lords of *Ireland* hath " no Power to affirm or reverſe " any Judgment, Sentence, or " Decree, given or made in any " Court of that Kingdom."

" The Earl of *Kildare* was committed to the Tower " by Cardinal *Wolſey* out of Malice, where he daily " expected to die. One Day as he was at play, with " the Lieutenant of the Tower, at *Slide-groat*, the " Mandate was brought for his Execution the next " Morning, and, perceiving the Lieutenant ſtruck with " a ſudden Surprize, *By St.* Bride, (ſaid the Earl) *there* " *is ſome ſad Game in that Scrowl; but, fall how it* " *will, this Throw is for a Huddle:* And when the " worſt was told him, *Now I pray thee*, ſaid the Earl, " *do no more but learn aſſuredly from the King's own* " *Mouth, whether his Highneſs be conſenting thereto,* " *or not.* The Lieutenant, leaving his Priſoner, re- " paired to the King, and ſhewed him the Cardi- " nal's Warrant, who then controuled the Sawcineſs " of the Prieſt, for thoſe were his Terms, and gave " the Lieutenant his Signet for a Countermand, " whereat the Cardinal ſtormed."

But it is to be obſerved, that neither he nor the other Hiſtorians give us any Account of *Kildare*'s Impeachment, Tryal, or Condemnation: And that *Wolſey* ſhould make out a Warrant to execute a Man, before he appeared to be condemned in any Shape, is incredible. Beſides, had *Wolſey* been guilty in this Reſpect, there needed no great Difficulty, when he fell, to have convicted him of High Treaſon: Therefore, as this Matter was not made uſe of againſt him in an Impeachment, nor ſo much as objected againſt him at his Fall, it induces us to ſuſpect, that the whole Account is a Fiction; eſpecially as *Rapin* and his other Enemies even omit telling this Story: And, what makes it ſeem ſtill more inconſiſtent, this very Year the Earl was nominated to attend the King, in the grand Interview between our Sovereign and *Francis* the Iſt, and in the Year 1524 he was again appointed Governor of *Ireland.*

Affairs of England, and France. 1520. The Beginning of this Year was taken up, in the Courts both of *England* and *France*, in making Preparation for the intended Interview between the two Kings: Accordingly *Wolſey*, on the 12th of *March*, publiſhed a Paper on that Head, importing, among other Things, "That the two Kings ſhould meet, on the 4th of "*June*, between *Ardreſs* and *Guiſneſs*: That the King of "*England* ſhould go towards *Ardreſs* as far as conve-"niently he could, without paſſing the *Engliſh* Pale; "and that the King of *France* ſhould meet him at the "Place where he ſtopt."

The reſt of the Regulation concerned the Safety of the two Monarchs, their Queens, the Queen Dowager of *France*; the Counteſs, Mother to *Francis* the Iſt; the Names of the Princes to aſſiſt at the Interview, the Place where the two Kings were to meet; and, laſtly, the Diverſions which the two Courts were to take.

Affairs of Spain. 1520. Now the Emperor was employed in his Preparation to return to *Flanders*; but the Rebels every Day gained Ground; and, the Inhabitants of *Valladolid* having agreed, that the People ſhould riſe, ſtop the Emperor, and ſecure the *Flemings*, they ran riotouſly about the Street, crying, *The King ought to be petitioned to ſtay!* and ſuddenly a *Portugueſe* Rope-maker rung the Alarum-Bell, upon which, in a Moment, 5 or 6000 of the Populace were got together with Weapons. This made the Emperor haſten away on the 28th of *March*, in a violent Rain, and a very dark Day, the like of which had not been ſeen: Some of the Multitude offered to ſtop him, but his Guards cleared the Way, and he went on; and tho' the City was left in a diſmal Uproar, it ceaſed immediately, thoſe, who ſtirred it up, being aſhamed of the Affront they had offered his Majeſty, and ſome of the Rabble were afterwards ſeverely puniſhed. The Emperor with Difficulty got that

that Night to *Tordeſillas*; and from thence proceeding to *Corunna*, he met with nothing all the Way but diſagreeable Treatment.

Here the Emperor called into his Preſence the Grandees and Gentry that attended him, and acquainted them with the Neceſſity of his Affairs, which required his Preſence in *Flanders*, and that he had left Cardinal *Adrian*, Biſhop of *Tortoſa* to govern the Kingdom in his Abſence. Moſt that were preſent were againſt it, and the Emperor refuſed at firſt to hear them, but at laſt it was ſettled, that Cardinal *Adrian* ſhould be Governor of the Dominions of *Caſtile* and *Leon*, Don *John de la Maza* of *Arragon*, and Don *James de Mendoza* Viceroy of *Valentia*. This done, the Emperor, with a great Retinue of *Spaniards* and *Flemings*, ſet ſail with a fair Wind from *Corunna*.

The Abſence of the Emperor did not at all abate the Rage of the Rebels, though, before he left *Spain*, he had ordered his Secretary to diſtribute among the *Grandees* certain Bills, for their receiving Money out of the Subſidies * that had been granted him by the People, which all of them received except the Conſtable, who ſaid, *He would ſerve his Majeſty without it.*

The Rebels at *Madrid* attacked the Caſtle, and ſent a Summons to thoſe within to ſurrender; but the Governor's Wife bravely anſwered, *She would ſupply her Huſband's Place, and defend it to the laſt.* At this the Rebels cried out, *Let them die! let us all die!* They planted the Cannon, and both Sides began to play, and, though the Rebels had no more Arms than Men, yet they beat down ſeveral Houſes. At laſt the principal Gunner in the Caſtle was killed, and, their Proviſion failing, they were forced to ſurrender.

* It is but too evident, that this Method of getting the *Grandees* into the Intereſts of Princes has prevailed in more Courts than one, to the no ſmall Unhappineſs of many States.

The People of *Madrid* had ſent to *John Arias*, Lord of *Torrejon de Velaſco* to aſſiſt him in the Siege of the Caſtle, he anſwered, *he would not concern himſelf on either Side:* Then the Rebels fell upon his Town of *Torrejon*, burnt and plundered it; but, tho' they had threatned his Life, he held out ſeveral Places and Forts for the Emperor about *Madrid*, which was the Means of checking the Rebels Progreſs in thoſe Parts; for which good Services the Emperor was pleaſed to make him Earl of *Puno en Roſtro.*

In the mean time the Rebellion in *Caſtile* was carried on with great Fury, and they were come to that Height of Inſolence, as to attempt to take the Cardinal Governor and the whole Council Priſoners. On their Failing in this, they had Recourſe to that of impoſing upon the People an Impoſtor, for Prince *John*, only Son of the late King *Ferdinand*, which amuſed the People for a while; but at laſt, the Falſhood being detected, with ſome Difficulty, in the Year 1522, the Rebellion in *Valentia* was happily put an end to.

Now the Emperor's Officers begun to recover their loſt Spirits ſo much, as to get an Army together, in order to make Head againſt the Rebels, in which was ſeveral Skirmiſhes between the Governor's Forces and thoſe of the Rebels; but at laſt they came to a pitcht Battle at *Villarar*, wherein the Rebels were defeated, and by that Means *Valladolid* and *Toledo*, and all the Country round, were reduced to the Obedience of the Emperor, and *John de Padillos*, and others of the moſt noted among the Rebels, were taken, and ſentenced to Death.

The next Day *John de Padillos*, *John Bravo*, and *Francis Maldonado* were carried to Execution, and a Cryer, according to the Cuſtom of *Spain*, went before them, proclaiming, "That the Emperor's Go-
"vernor had ordered them to be beheaded as Trai-
"tors."

" tors." But *John Bravo* told the Cryer, " That " he, and thoſe who ordered him to make that " Proclamation, lied; for they were not Traitors, " but Aſſerters of the People's Liberties." Upon this he had ſome Words with the *Alcaldo*, who attended to ſee the Execution performed, but *John Padillos* replied, " Ah! Mr. *Bravo*, what you now ſay is " of no Uſe, yeſterday was the time to fight like " Gentlemen, and to-day to die like *Chriſtians*."

Thus they went on to Execution, when they were beheaded and their Heads ſet upon Poſts; and *John de Padillos*'s Houſe was dug up from the very Foundation, and the Ground plowed up and ſowed with Salt, and on it a Pillar erected, containing an Account of his Life and miſerable End. The *Spaniſh* Hiſtorians alſo relate, " that a Biſhop, that had been " very active againſt the Emperor in this Rebellion, " was hanged."

However, the Emperor ſoon ſaw, that deſtroying his Subjects by publick Executions would not in the end anſwer, he therefore granted a Pardon to all who had rebelled againſt him in *Spain*, excepting a very few; and found this Way of proceeding had ſo good an Effect, that, before the Year 1523 expired, his Subjects returned to their Obedience, and the Affairs of the Kingdom began to bear a favourable Aſpect.

The Emperor lands in England.

As to the Emperor the firſt Port he made, after he ſailed from *Corunna*, was *Dover*; and in the mean time the King of *England*, being ſet out for the intended Interview, was at *Canterbury*, on the 25th of *May*, in his Way to *France*; but, receiving the News of the Emperor's Landing at *Dover*, he inſtantly took Horſe, and in little more than an Hour entred that Place, where the Emperor was in Bed Sea-ſick. As ſoon as his Imperial Majeſty heard of *Henry*'s Arrival, he got out of Bed, and, before the King could get to the

the Top of the Stairs, he was ready to receive him. They expreſſed great Joy at the Sight of each other, and ſpent the greateſt Part of the Night together.

The next Morning each Prince, being richly mounted, rode in State to *Canterbury*, the Earl of *Derby*, one of the Cardinal's Retinue, carrying the Sword before them: Being come there they firſt repaired to *Becket*'s Tomb,* in order to pay their Devotions to that Saint, (as he was then called) where *Wolſey*, at the Head of the Clergy and a numerous Concourſe of People, received them.

From *Becket*'s Tomb, after the two Princes had aſſiſted at high Maſs, they proceeded to the Archbiſhop's Palace, and here the Queen waited with Impatience to ſee the Emperor, her Nephew, whom ſhe received in the moſt moving and reſpectful Manner; nor was the Emperor behind-hand in expreſſing his Joy at the Sight of the Queen his Aunt.

In the Evening there was a Ball at Court, at which, among the Ladies, the Queen Dowager of *France*, the King's Siſter, appeared; and the Emperor was ſtruck

* *Becket* for three hundred Years was accounted one of the greateſt Saints in Heaven, the Day of his Body's Riſing, or, as it was called, his *Tranſlation*, being the 7th of *July*, was not only a Holyday, but every fifty Years there was a *Jubilee* for fifteen Days together, with Indulgence to all that viſited his Shrine. "His Penknife and "Boots, (ſays one of our *Engliſh* "Authors) were held in high "Veneration; and, what was "ſtill greater, a Piece of his Shirt "was much reverenced by big-"bellied Women." Yet *Henry*, after the Cardinal's Death, ſeized this Shrine and all the Treaſure therein, and cauſed *Becket*'s Bones to be publickly burnt, and his Name to be ſtruck out of the Calendar of Saints. The rich Stone, that was offered by *Lewis* the VIIth of *France*, *Henry* cauſed to be ſet in a Ring, and wore it on his Thumb. The Spoil of this Shrine, in Gold and precious Stones only, filled two Cheſts, that were ſo heavy that 8 ſtrong Men could ſcarce carry them out of the Church. The Votaries were extreamly grieved to ſee the Treatment St. *Thomas* met with, and wrote on that Occaſion in the moſt virulent Manner to *Rome*, comparing even the King to the greateſt Tyrant, and his People to the worſt of *Infidels*.

ſtruck with ſuch Amazement at her moſt admirable Beauty, and remembring alſo, this Princeſs was firſt deſigned for his Wife, it created in him ſuch Uneaſineſs, that he refuſed to dance, which was taken notice of by the whole Court.

The Emperor here, in particular, diſtinguiſhed *Wolſey*, and it has been confidently affirmed, that he at this Time, in hopes of attaching him to his Intereſt, faithfully promiſed to aſſiſt him in getting for him the *Triple Crown*, in caſe of the Death of Pope *Leo* the Xth.

He next renewed his earneſt Application to the King, in order to diſſuade him from the intended Interview with the *French* King, which his Majeſty would by no means hear of, frankly telling the Emperor, "He could not in Honour go back, but that he "might be aſſured he would not tranſact any Af-"fair with *Francis* to his Prejudice." The Emperor upon this Anſwer deſiſted from troubling the King further in relation to that Point: However, that ſome Buſineſs might be done whilſt he ſtaid in *England*, he readily conſented to the renewing with the King the Treaty of Commerce made between *Henry* the VIIth, and the late King *Philip*, his Father, in the Year 1506. And, though the Emperor did not obtain all that he deſired from his Coming into *England*, yet he departed well ſatisfied with what he had done; and on the 30th of *May* he took Leave of the Court and embarked for *Flanders*, where he ſoon after ſafely arrived.

The King lands at Calais.

His Majeſty, as ſoon as the Emperor was embarked, did the like for *France*, and landed at *Calais*.

Our gallant young Monarch was attended by his Queen, the *French* Queen; his Prime Miniſter, Cardinal *Wolſey*; the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; the Dukes of *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, and *Buckingham*; the Marquis of *Dorſet*; the Biſhops of *Durham*, *Armagh*, *Ely*, *Cheſter*,

Cheſter, *Rocheſter*, *Exeter*, *Hereford*, and *Landaff*; the Lord Prior of *England*; the Earls of *Stafford*, *Northumberland*, *Weſtmoreland*, *Shrewſbury*, *Worceſter*, *Devonſhire*, *Kent*, *Wiltſhire*, *Derby*, *Eſſex*, and *Kildare*; the Lords *Abergavenny*, *Curzon* *, *Matravers*, *Montacute*, *Herbert*, *St. John*, *Roos*, *Fitzwalter*, *Haſtings*, *Elavere*, *Montjoy*, *Dacres*, *Ferrers*†, *Cobham*, *Daubeney*, *Morley*, *Lumley* ‖, and *Howard*; Sir *Robert Points*, Sir *George Foſter*, Sir *Thomas Fetiplace*, Sir *John Liſle*, Sir *Adrian Forteſcue*, Sir *Walter Stoner*, Sir *Edward Grevile*, Sir *Simon Harcourt*, Sir *John Hampden* §, Sir *George Selinger*, Sir *John Kirkham*, Sir *Miles Buſhby*, Sir *Marmaduke Conſtable*, Sir *Edward Dorril*, Sir *Ralph Chamberlain*, Sir *John Shelton*, Sir *Robert Clare*, Sir *Philip Calthorpe*, Sir *William Pierpont* **, Sir *William Pelham*,

* This Nobleman was created a Baron of the Empire by the Emperor *Maximilian*, but, dying without Iſſue, his Branch became extinct. *John Curzon* of *Kedleſton* was another Branch of this noble Family, and from him is deſcended the preſent Sir *Nathaniel Curzon*, Bart. one of the Knights of the Shire for *Derby*, and has Iſſue two Sons, *Nathaniel* and *Aſheton*.

† The Title of Earl of *Ferrers* is now enjoyed by the Right Honourable *Thomas* Earl of *Ferrers*, deſcended from the antient Family of the *Shirleys*: And the Title of Lord *Ferrers* was alſo enjoyed by the Anceſtors of the Right Honourable *Price Devereux*, Lord Viſcount *Hereford*.

‖ This noble Lord was a very gallant Soldier, and brought a conſiderable Force to aſſiſt the Earl of *Surry* at *Flodden-field*, againſt the *Scotch*, and behaved bravely in the Action; from whom the preſent Right Hon. *Thomas* Earl of *Scarborough* is deſcended.

§ This Family afterwards became very famous, by the noble Stand ſeveral of them made in the Cauſe of Liberty, particularly in the Reign of King *Charles* the Iſt, in the Affair of the *Ship-Money*; and *John Hampden*, Eſq; Member for *Wendover* in *Buckinghamſhire* is of this Family.

** Sir *William Pierpont* was at the Battle of *Stoke* in the 2d Year of King *Henry* the VIIth, and, at the Creation of *Henry* Prince of *Wales*, he was made *Knight of the Sword*, and behaved with great Gallantry both at the Siege of *Turwine* and *Tournay*, as alſo at the Battle of the *Spurs*, where he was made a *Knight Banneret*; and from this brave Knight his Grace *Evelyn Pierpont*, Duke of *Kingſton upon Hull*, is deſcended.

ham, * Sir *William Waldegrave,* † Sir *Thomas Tirel,* Sir *Roger Wentworth,* ‡ Sir *Thomas Trenchard,* Sir *Thomas Lynde,* Sir *Thomas Wyndham,* ‖ Sir *John Villers,*

* *Henry* the VIIIth, in the 16th Year of his Reign, in Conſideration of the Expences that this Gentleman had been at in his Majeſty's Service, was pleaſed not only to make to him a Grant of certain Lands in *Suſſex*, but alſo to diſtinguiſh him by other Marks of his princely Favour; and, in Proceſs of Time, this great Family, who had been ſeated in *Suſſex* for ſeveral Generations, (where they have very conſiderable Eſtates at this Time) arrived at the Dignity of Peerage, in the Perſon of *Thomas* Lord *Pelham*, created ſo in the Year 1701. His Lordſhip married the Lady *Grace Holles*, the fourth and youngeſt Daughter of *Gilbert* Earl of *Clare*, and Siſter to *John* Duke of *Newcaſtle*, and had Iſſue two Sons, his Grace *Thomas*, the preſent Duke of *Newcaſtle*, and the Right Hon. *Henry Pelham*, Eſq; His Grace was born the 21ſt of *July*, 1694; and, by the Will of his Uncle, *John Holles*, Duke of *Newcaſtle*, was adopted Heir to his great Eſtate, and to bear the Name and Arms of *Holles*.

Henry Pelham, Eſq; was, as ſoon as he arrived of Age, elected Member of Parliament, and is now one of the Knights of the Shire for *Suſſex*, Paymaſter-general of all his Majeſty's Land-forces, and one of the Lords Juſtices in his Majeſty's Abſence in 1743; whoſe great Abilities are ſo well known, that we need not here recite them.

† From this Knight the Right Honourable *James* Earl of *Waldegrave* was deſcended, who was in his Life-time Ambaſſador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Court of *France*, and on his Death was ſucceeded in his Honour and Eſtate by *James*, his eldeſt Son.

‡ From Sir *Roger Wentworth* the Right Honourable *Thomas Wentworth*, late Earl of *Strafford*, was deſcended, who is ſucceeded by his Son, the preſent Earl of *Strafford*.

‖ From this Knight the late Sir *William Wyndham*, Bart. was deſcended, who was a Gentleman of fine Parts, of great Honour and Integrity, and ſtrictly attached to the Intereſt of his Country. Mr. *Pope* has tranſmitted to Poſterity the Character of this great Man (among others) in two Lines only.

How can I PULTENEY, (a) CHESTERFIELD, *forget,*
While Roman *Spirit charms, and* Attic *Wit?*
ARGYLL, *the State's whole Thunder born to wield,*
And ſhake alike the Senate and the Field?
Or WYNDHAM, *juſt to Freedom and the Throne,*
The Maſter of our Paſſions and his own?

(a) Now Earl of Bath.

lers, Sir *John Asheton*, Sir *Anthony Brown*, * Sir *John Seymour*, † Sir *Henry Sacheverel*, Sir *Henry Willoughby*, Sir *Ralph Verney*, Sir *William Read*, Sir *Robert Jones*, Sir *William Finch*, § and Sir *John Mordant*, ‖ Knts. *John Spencer*, ‡ *Weston Brown*, *Edward Ferrers*, *Robert Constable*, *Ralph Egerton*, *Thomas Lacy*, and *John Marney*, Esqs; with other Knights, Esquires, and Gentry, to the Number of 4334 Persons, and of Horses 1637, besides those who attended the Queen Dowager of *France*, and the Duke of *Suffolk*, her Husband, and the Cardinal's Retinue.

Francis

* This Knight made a very fine Appearance at the Interview of the two Kings, who was so pleased at the Magnificence of the Sight, that he had it drawn upon the Spot by the masterly Hand of the famous *Hans Holbein*; and we are informed, that the Piece is now preserved in the Family at the Seat of the Right Honourable *Anthony* Lord Viscount *Montague*, at the antient (tho' neat and compact) Seat at *Midhurst* in *Sussex*, a worthy Descendant of this noble Knight.

† From this Knight the present Sir *Edward Seymour*, Bart. is descended.

§ He behaved with great Valour at the Sieges of *Turwine* and *Tournay*, and the Descendants from this Gentleman have, on several important Occasions, distinguished themselves both in Arms and Counsel; at different Times sustained the greatest Posts in the Kingdom, and at last arrived to the Peerage, with the Title of *Winchelsea* and *Nottingham*, now enjoyed by the Right Honourable *Daniel Finch*, a noble Descendant from this venerable Knight.

‖ Sir *John* had a Summons to take his Seat among the Peers of this Realm, 24 *Hen.* VIII. and was in great Favour with that Prince; and from this Nobleman that great Soldier, the late Earl of *Peterborough*, was descended, whose brave Behaviour, at the Head of our *English* Army during the late War in *Spain*, in support of the Interests of the House of *Austria*, was such, that it would take up a Volume to enumerate Particulars. The Right Honourable *Charles Mordant*, the present Earl of *Peterborough* and *Monmouth*, is the illustrious Heir of this noble Family.

‡ This Gentleman was knighted by *Henry* the VIIIth, and the Character that Mr. *Collins* gives of him is, 'That he was possessed of a large Estate, was a 'noble House-keeper, had a 'great Reverence for the Clergy, 'was very liberal to his poor 'Neighbours, and bountiful to 'his Tenants and Servants;" which is also the distinguished Character of his Grace *Charles Spencer*, the present Duke of *Marlborough*, descended from this Gentleman,

Francis the Iſt and his Queen were attended by the King of *Navarre*, the Dukes of *Alencon*, *Bourbon*, *Vendoſme*, *Lorrain*; Prince of *Orange*, Prince of *Tallemont*, the Prince *de la Roch Suyren*; the Earls of *Guiſe*, *St. Pool*, *Lavel*, *la Chambre*, *Tonneere*, *Brienne*, *Joignes*, *Bremie*, *Harcourt* *, and *Mont Rebel*; the Marſhals *Leſcun*, *Montmorency*, *Lautrec*, *de Paliſſe*, *Tremoville*; Monſieur *de Bonnivet*, the Great Admiral, and *Du Pratt*, the High Chancellor; beſides a great Number of Prelates, and other Nobility and Gentry of that Nation.

The immortal *Shakeſpear* (in his Play of *Henry* the VIIIth †) has deſcribed this Interview with much Spirit.

On the 4th of *June* both Kings met with their Swords drawn, and borne before them mounted on *Spaniſh* Gennets, and obſerved to a Tittle the Regulation ſettled and publiſhed by Cardinal *Wolſey*.

After the two Kings had embraced each other, they alighted, walked Hand in Hand, and entered a magnificent Pavillion erected on Purpoſe to receive them, where they conferred together for ſome time, and then parted.

The Memory of Man had not ſeen ſuch a Sight, both Kings being in the Flower of their Age, and al-

Gentleman on his Father's Side; and from JOHN Duke of MARLBOROUGH on his Mother's Side.

* It is poſitively affirmed by many Authors, "That the *Harcourt* Family, at *Stanton-harcourt* in *Oxfordſhire*, ſprung from a Branch of this noble Family.

† SCENE I.

Enter the Duke of Norfolk *at one Door; at the other the Duke of* Buckingham, *and the Lord* Abergavenny.

BUCKINGHAM.

Good Morrow, and well met! How have you done,
Since laſt we ſaw y'in *France?*

Nor. I thank your Grace:
Healthful, and ever ſince a freſh Admirer
Of what I ſaw there.

Buck.

moſt matchleſs for Beauty and Strength of Body, well skilled in all ſorts of Martial Exerciſe, both on Foot and Horſeback: In Fact, they were then two of the fineſt Princes in the World; ſo that from the Magnificence of thoſe Monarchs, and the Greatneſs of their Attendance, the Place where they met was called the *Golden Camp*.

Hall, who ſeems to have been preſent at this Interview, deſcribes the two Kings as follows: "*Henry* "was in Beauty and Perſonage the moſt goodly Prince "that ever reigned over the Kingdom of *England*. "He was apparelled in a Garment of Cloth of Sil- "ver, lined with Gold Cloth; the Garment was large "and plaited very thick, and was of ſuch a Make "as to be very pleaſing to behold. The Horſe, "which his Majeſty rode on, was trapped in a moſt "extraordinary Furniture of a new deviſed Faſhion; "the Trapping was of fine Gold in Bullion curiouſly "wrought,

Buck. An untimely Ague
Staid me a Priſoner in my Chamber, when
Thoſe Suns of Glory, thoſe two Lights of Men,
Met in the Vale of *Arde*:——
Nor. 'Twixt *Gaynes* and *Arde*:
I was then preſent, ſaw 'em ſalute on Horſe-back,
Beheld them when they lighted, how they clung
In their Embracement, as if they'd grown together;
Which had they, what four Thron'd-ones could have weigh'd
Such a compounded one?
Buck. All the whole Time
I was my Chamber's Priſoner.
Nor. Then you loſt
The View of Earthly Glory! Men might ſay
'Till this Time Pomp was ſingle, but now marry'd
To one above itſelf. Each following Day
Became the next Day's Maſter, 'till the laſt
Made former Wonders its. To-day the *French*,
All clinquant, all in Gold, like Heathen Gods,
Shone down the *Engliſh*; and To-morrow they
Made *Britain*, *India*. Every Man that ſtood,
Shew'd like a Mine; their dwarfiſh Pages were,
As Cherubins, all gilt. The Madams too,
Not us'd to toil, did almoſt ſweat to bear
The Pride upon them, that their very Labour
Was to them as a Painting. Now this Maſk

Was

" wrought, and punched with rich Work of *Roman*
" Figures.

" *Francis*'s Cloaths was of Cloth of Silver, cul-
" pond with Cloth of Gold of Damaſk Cauſel-wiſe,
" and guarded on the Borders with the Burgond Bends,
" and over that a Cloak of Sattin with Gold of Pur-
" ple Colour, wrapped about his Body traverſed,
" beaded from the Shoulder to the Waſte, faſtened
" in the Loop of the firſt Fold. This Cloak was
" richly ſate with Pearls and precious Stones. The
" King had on his Head a Koiſe of Damaſk Gold
" ſate with Diamonds; and the Horſe that he rode
" on covered with a Trapping of Tiſſue, bordered
" with a Device cut in faſhion metal-wiſe; the Skirts
" were embowed and fret with Friſed Work, and
" knit with Cordels and Buttons taſtelled of *Turky*;
" his Reins and Headſtal anſwering the Work."

The two Kings then ordered a Theatre to be inſtantly

Was cry'd incomparable; and th'enſuing Night
Made it a Fool and Beggar. The two Kings,
Equal in Luſtre, were now beſt, now worſt,
As Preſence did preſent them: Him in Eye,
Still him in Praiſe; and, being preſent both,
'Twas ſaid, they ſaw but one, and no Diſcerner
Durſt wag his Tongue in Cenſure. When theſe Suns,
(For ſo they phraſe 'em) by their Heralds, challeng'd
The noble Spirits to Arms, they did perform
Beyond Thought's Compaſs, that old fabulous Story
(Being now ſeen poſſible enough) got Credit,
That *Bevis* was believ'd.

Buck. Oh! you go far.

Nor. As I belong to Worſhip, and affect
In Honour, Honeſty; the Tract of every Thing
Would by a good Diſcourſer loſe ſome Life,
Which Action's Self was Tongue to.

Buck. All was royal;
To the Diſpoſing of it nought rebell'd,
Order gave each Thing View. The Office did
Diſtinctly his full Function. Who did guide,
I mean who ſet the Body and the Limbs,
Of this great Sport, together as you gueſs?

Nor. One ſure, that promiſes no Element
In ſuch a Buſineſs.

Buck.

ſtantly erected, in order for Tilting and other favourite Diverſions in thoſe Days.

Whilſt the Theatre was preparing, the Time was employed in ſettling a new Treaty between theſe two Monarchs, managed by Cardinal *Wolſey* on the Part of the King of *England*, and by Chancellor *Du Pratt* on that of the King of *France*, which is to the following Effect: "That after *Francis* had paid *Henry* the "Money ſtipulated by the former Treaty, he ſhould "further pay *Henry* 100,000 Crowns *Turnois* yearly, "during his Life; and that, in caſe the Dauphin "ſhould become King of *England*, by the Marriage "of the Princeſs *Mary*, this Penſion ſhould be continued to *Mary* and her Heirs for ever: That the "Differences ſubſiſting between *England* and *Scotland* "ſhould be referred to the Deciſion of the Counteſs, "the *French* King's Mother, and Cardinal *Wolſey*."

This Treaty being finiſhed and ſigned, and the Theatre

Buck. Pray you, who, my Lord?

Nor. All this was order'd by the good Diſcretion
Of the Right Rev'rend Cardinal of *York*.

Buck. The Devil ſpeed him! no Man's Pie is freed
From his ambitious Finger! What had he
To do in theſe fierce Vanities? I wonder
That ſuch a Ketch can with his very Bulk
Take up the Rays o'th' beneficial Sun,
And keep it from the Earth.

Nor. Yet, ſurely, Sir,
There's in him Stuff that puts him to theſe Ends.
For, being not propt by Anceſtry, whoſe Grace
Chalks Succeſſors their Way; nor call'd upon
For high Feats done to th'Crown, neither ally'd
To eminent Aſſiſtants; but Spider-like,
Out of his ſelf-drawn Web: This gives us Note,
The Force of his own Merit makes his Way,
A Giſt that Heaven gives for him, Which buys
A Place next to the King.

Aber. I cannot tell
What Heav'n hath giv'n him; let ſome graver Eye
Pierce into that: But I can ſee his Pride
Peep through each Part of him: Whence has he that,
If not from Hell? The Devil is a Niggard,
Or has giv'n all before, and he begins

A

Theatre erected, both Kings prepared to entertain each other, and

On the 9th of *June*, came and viewed the Place of Exercise, which was 300 Yards long, and 106 broad, with Scaffolds on the Sides for the Spectators more conveniently seeing the Performances. There were also set up two artificial Trees with the Arms of the two Kings and their Assistants, on which were affixed the Articles of the Justs, *&c.* very curiously done and beautiful to the Sight. The same Day the Tournaments began, at which were present several of the most famous Soldiers in *Europe.*

On the 10th the King of *England* dined with the Queen of *France* at *Ardres*, as did the *French* King the same Day with the Queen of *England*, in the new Palace, that was erected upon this Occasion, before the Town of *Guisnes*, being a most sumptuous and costly Pile of Building, tho' of Timber, framed partly in *England*

A new Hell in himself.
Buck. Why, the Devil!
Upon this *French* Going-out, took he upon him,
Without the Privity o'th'King, t'appoint
Who should attend him: He makes up the File
Of all the Gentry; for the most part such
To whom as great a Charge as little Honour
He meant to lay upon: And his own Letter
(The honourable Board of Council out)
Must fetch in him he *papers.*
Aber. I do know
Kinsmen of mine, three at least, that have
By this so sicken'd their Estates, that never
They shall abound as formerly.
Buck. O many
Have broke their Backs with laying Manors on 'em
For this great Journey. What did this great Vanity
But minister Communication of
A most poor Issue?
Nor. Grievingly I think,
The Peace, between the *French* and us, not values
The Cost that did conclude it.
Buck. Every Man,
After the hideous Storm that follow'd, was
A Thing inspir'd; and, not consulting, broke

Into

England and partly in *Holland*. It was in four diſtinct Apartments, whereof the Outſide was covered with painted Cloth, executed in ſo curious a Manner, that it looked like ſquare Stones, and the Inſide was hung with rich Tapeſtry. Above 1000 Artificers were employed for two Months in making it, and, when finiſhed, had the Appearance of a moſt ſtately Palace.

The King of *France* alſo cauſed a Houſe to be erected of another kind to entertain *Henry*; in which was a Canopy extending every Way 60 Foot, covered with Cloth of Tiſſue, and hung with Velvet; at each Corner was a Pavillion of the ſame Work; the Cords were of blue Silk twiſted with Gold of *Cyprus*; but, alas! a ſudden Storm broke the Cords, and laid this fine Structure in the Dirt. On which the *Francis* cauſed another to be erected far ſurpaſſing the former.

The

Into a general Prophecy, That this Tempeſt,
Daſhing the Garment of this Peace, boded
The ſudden Breach on't.
Nor. Which is budded out:
For *France* hath flaw'd the League, and hath attach'd
Our Merchants Goods at *Bourdeaux*.
Aber. Is it therefore
Th'Ambaſſador is ſilenc'd?
Nor. Marry is't.
Aber. A proper Title of a Peace, and purchas'd
At a ſupurfluous Rate!
Buck. Why all this Buſineſs
Our Rev'rend Cardinal carried.
Nor. Like it your Grace,
The State takes notice of the private Difference
Betwixt you and the Cardinal. I adviſe you,
(And take it from a Heart that wiſhes you
Honour and plenteous Safety) that you read
The Cardinal's Malice and his Potency
Together; to conſider further, that
What his high Hatred would effect, wants not
A Miniſter in his Pow'r. You know his Nature:
That he's revengful; and I know his Sword
Hath a ſharp Edge: It's long, and, 't may be
It reaches far; and where 'twill not extend,
Thither he darts it. Boſom up my Counſel,
You'll find it wholeſome. Lo! here comes that Rock,
That I adviſe your Shunning. [*meaning the Cardinal.*

The 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th, and 15th, the two Kings, with ſeven Aſſiſtants, encountered all Comers, and came off with Applauſe.—The 16th was ſpent in Feaſting and Dancing with the Queens and other Ladies.—The 17th, being foul Weather, they repoſed.—The 19th the two Kings continued their Courſes.—And the 20th the Tournaments were continued, when *Henry* in particular diſtinguiſhed himſelf ſo ſurprizingly, that a brave *French* Nobleman, with whom *Henry* fought, preſented him with his Horſe, as a Teſtimony of his being overcome. Nor were the *Engliſh* and *French* Nobility behind-hand in diſtinguiſhing themſelves for the Diverſion of the two Kings.—The 21ſt the Sport was ſo rough, that 4 of the Aſſailants were hurt.—The 22d the Barriers begun.——The 23d *Henry*, with his Siſter *Mary*, went in maſking Habits to ſee the *French* Queen at *Ardreſs*; as did likewiſe *Francis* to ſee the *Engliſh* Queen at *Guiſneſs*.

On the 25th, after many Compliments, Embraces, and rich Preſents on both Sides, their Majeſties took leave of each other, and both they and their Queens appeared highly delighted with what had paſſed: But, which added greatly to the Pleaſure of this Interview, the whole was conducted without the leaſt Diſorder, committed either on the Part of the *French*, or the *Engliſh*, both Nations ſeeming to diſcover a polite Emulation, which ſhould ſhew the greateſt Reſpect to each other. King *Henry* with his Court immediately returned to *Calais*, and King *Francis* with his to *Paris*.

On the 10th of *July* our Monarch, with a ſplendid Attendance, rode to *Graveling*, to pay a Viſit to the Emperor; the next Day his Imperial Majeſty, with his Aunt, *Margaret* of *Savoy*, attended the King back to *Calais*, where he ſtaid four Days; and at parting the King preſented the Emperor with a moſt beautiful Horſe richly decorated. The next Day, after the Emperor was returned to his own Court, the King

and Queen with their noble Train embarked for *England*, in a few Hours ſafely landed at *Dover*, and from thence proceeded to their Palace at *Greenwich*, where they arrived in good Health.

" I envy their Happineſs (ſays Biſhop *Godwin*) " who in ſo little a Time ſaw three of the greateſt " Monarchs in the World, who, by their Exploits, " and the great Alterations that happened afterwards " under each of them, will without doubt be famous " to all ſucceeding Ages."

Wolſey's Conduct on that renowned Affair was much applauded in foreign Countries. The Senate of *Venice* ſhewed their Eſteem for him in a Letter, wherein they congratulate the Cardinal, upon the Interview of the two Kings, as a Work of his conſummate Wiſdom; and often uſe the Phraſe, *Dominatio veſtra reverendiſſima*; and in one Place, *Majeſtatis ejus pars altera.*

The Pope was willing not to be too late in ſhewing ſome real Teſtimonies of his Reſpect for *Wolſey*; for, on the 29th of *July*, he granted him a Penſion of 2000 Ducats upon the Biſhoprick of *Placentia*, and conſtituted him *perpetual Adminiſtrator* of the See of *Badajos*, without Prejudice to what he had, or ſhould have for the future.

But permit us here to give a Touch or two from Monſ. *Rapin*, though they are not the moſt conſiſtent. " The Confidence *Francis* the Iſt had repoſed in " Cardinal *Wolſey*, in giving him Power to regulate " every Thing relating to the Interview, he was to " have with *Henry*, would have redounded very much " to that Miniſter's Honour, if on the other hand " this Proceeding had not ſhewn *Francis*'s little Eſteem " for him, in that he *believed him to be liable to* " *Corruption.*"*

" There is no doubt, (ſpeaking of the Pope's Pen- " ſion) but this was done with the Emperor's Con- " ſent,

* This there is not the leaſt Colour for, and is directly contrary to what *Rapin* himſelf aſſerts. See p. 73, of this Vol. in the laſt ſix Lines of the firſt Paragraph.

" ſent,* who *endeavoured*, by Degrees, to *gain* ſo " powerful a Miniſter to his Intereſt, whoſe Aſ- " ſiſtance was very neceſſary to him in the preſent " Situation of Affairs.

" The greateſt Princes *very juſtly* courted Cardinal " *Wolſey*, becauſe he *abſolutely governed* his Maſter, " who, in the preſent Situation of Affairs, could *make* " *the Ballance incline to which Side he pleaſed.*" †

Upon the Death of Biſhop *Oldham*, Dr. *Veſey* was preferred to the See of *Exeter*, and conſecrated *December* the 6th. This Prelate had his Education in *Magdalen* College, *Oxford*, was one of the King's Caplains, and eſteemed a very learned and wiſe Man.

Wolſey, this Year, by the Direction of the King, cauſed an Account to be taken of the ſeveral Pariſhes in *England*, which was called, *The Book of* Thomas Wolſey, *Cardinal*; and there appeared to be 9407 Churches. " But, ſays the learned Dr. *Gibſon*, ‡ " there were in *England* but 9282 Churches. " I know not how this Difference ſhould happen, " unleſs it be that ſome were demoliſhed in the " laſt Ages, and Chapels which were Parochial are " omitted."

Wolſey *viſits* Cambridge.

Soon after the Cardinal was returned from the grand Interview, we have juſt mentioned, he took an Opportunity of paying a Viſit to the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, attended by a numerous Body of learned Men, beſides ſeveral foreign Ambaſſadors, then reſiding at the *Engliſh* Court, and other Perſons of high Diſtinction, where he was received with uncommon Marks of Reſpect, ſince, as he had before ſhewn this learned Body, his munificent Acts, for the Encouragement of Learning, were not confined to *Oxford* only, and he now in Perſon confirmed the ſame, thereby alſo corroborating the received Opinion

* If it was, where was the Harm of it?

† Then, ſure, he governed his Maſter well.

‡ *Cambden's Britannia*, printed in the Year 1694.

of the then *Literati*, in regard to his Deſign of encouraging Learning in general, without Reſpect to any particular Place; of which the Univerſity was ſo ſenſible, that they honoured him as their Patron and Benefactor; deſired, "their Statutes might be modelled "by his Judgment, as by a true and ſettled Standard;" declared, "they conſidered him as one ſent, by di-"vine Providence, from Heaven, for the publick "Benefit of Mankind;" and ſaluted him alſo with the Title of *Majeſty*, as the other Univerſity had ſet them an Example: But it muſt be obſerved, that this Title was not then ſolely appropriated to crowned Heads, as it ſeems now to be.

Dr. *Henry Bullock* alſo, in a full Aſſembly, exhibited a moſt florid Oration in *Latin*, which we have endeavoured to render into *Engliſh*.* See the Original in *Fiddes*'s Collection.

Tho

* "YOU muſt not expect, by much, O happieſt of Cardinals! that, in this ſhort Diſcourſe, we ſhould offer to enter into the immenſe Field of your Praiſes, or to comprize, in ſuch a ſmall Number of Words, the Sum of all your *Virtues*, which a large Volume can ſcarcely contain. Far be it from us to think, that ſuch a Taſk could be performed by any one in a Day, a Month, or a Year.

"We ſhall only mention ſome few Matters, but which, from their Greatneſs, had they not been known to all preſent, which does not a little recruit my Spirits, would perhaps ſeem incredible, neither ſhall it be in the Power of any one to brand us with the Odium of *Flattery*; for this our Oration ſhall be ſo wide of Adulation, as it is remote from any ſuch Neceſſity. However, ſuch are the *Qualities*, moſt courteous *Lords*, of this great Prelate, that as their Eulogy is very rare, and no ways gloſſed, they ought to be proclaimed by all, even by his Enemies, ſo as to leave no room for a *Suſpicion of Flattery*, if, led out of Love to theſe *Virtues*, our Regard for his Highneſs, and the Commiſſion we have been charged with by our Colleagues, we ſhould, according to our ſlender Capacity, ſpeak a little more fully of them.

"It is not a Genius like ours, at theſe tender Years and Strength, nor even of a great and eloquent Orator, that can worthily celebrate the *extraordinary Merits* of this *moſt Praiſe-worthy Cardinal*. There is no flowing Torrents of Eloquence,

no

The Univerſity, as a further Honour to the Cardinal, incorporated Dr. *Taylor*, and admitted certain other Perſon's in the Cardinal's Retinue, to the Degrees of *Doctors in the Common-Law*; their Admiſſions

' no ſplendid, copious, and pow-
' erful Stile, equal to this Taſk.
' Did he want any *good Quality*,
' that had ever been poſſeſſed
' by the greateſt of Men? Was
' it a *noble Diſpoſition?* Why
' he gave undoubted Hopes of
' the great Honour, with which
' we behold him now adorned,
' to every body. Was it an *ex-*
' *quiſite Temperament of Body?*
' This he has attained, as we
' ſee. Was it *Diligence?* This
' had it's Beginning from the
' early Years of his Youth, when
' he ſo carefully applied himſelf
' to the Study of good Arts and
' Letters, in the renowned Uni-
' verſity of *Oxford*, where all
' this Grandeur was reared, and
' by much excelled other moſt
' diligent Students at that Time.
' Was it *Wit?* Of this he diſ-
' covered a divine Portion from
' his tender Days, in the Opi-
' nion of all. Was it the *Know-*
' *ledge of Things*, *Probity*, *Inno-*
' *cence*, *Modeſty*, *Integrity*, *Reli-*
' *gion*, or any *Virtue?* In all
' theſe he ſo highly pleaſed not
' only the Marquis, (of *Dorſet*)
' his great Patron; but alſo
' *Henry* the VIIth of that Name,
' the moſt prudent of Kings,
' and a true Judge of Mankind;
' who, on account of thoſe rare
' Talents, held this *ſpotleſs Prelate*
' *moſt dear*. For that Prince,
' having rightly weighed his
' *Merit*, diſcovered, that, in time
' to come, he might be of great
' Honour and Service to this
' Nation; in Teſtimony thereof
' he encreaſed his Benefices,
' truſted him with his Secrets,
' and ſent him on an Ambaſſy,
' wherein the moſt important
' Affairs of the Nation were in-
' tereſted, in which Character he
' behaved with ſo much Judg-
' ment and Prudence, as exceeds
' our preſent Undertaking to re-
' late.

' The illuſtrious King, this
' moſt excellent Princes's Son,
' conſummately verſed in all
' Sciences, who, as Succeſſor to
' his Father's Crown, as well as
' his Wiſdom and Courage, hav-
' ing been taken with the *num-*
' *berleſs Virtues* of this moſt Rev.
' Prelate, concluded there were
' no Honours, which he was not
' worthy of.

' The *Pope*, for his great Ser-
' vices to the *Catholick* Church,
' has hitherto eminently reward-
' ed him; and, becauſe he had
' judged him the *moſt deſerving*
' of the Dignity of *Cardinal*,
' he added alſo another ſupreme
' Dignity, inferior only to him-
' ſelf, and created him *Legate*,
' and that *a Latere*. What can
' we therefore, *poor Creatures!*
' contribute, after ſo many and
' ſuch exquiſite Honours done by
' the chief Pontiffs, which his
' *excellent Qualities* have deſerv-
' edly brought him to? What

' re-

ſions being fully and freely accepted, as if they had gone through the uſual Exerciſes, required to qualify them for thoſe Degrees,

The Cardinal afterwards ſpent ſome few Days with his

‘ remains for us to do? What ‘ is our Duty?——Only that ‘ we ſollicit the IMMORTAL ‘ GOD, with our united Suf- ‘ frages, to continue him to ‘ us, as long as poſſibly may be, ‘ ſafe and flouriſhing; congratu- ‘ late with you, on theſe your ‘ proſperous Succeſſes; proclaim ‘ theſe your *Virtues*, which we ‘ cannot paſs over in Silence, ‘ unleſs we ſhould be willing to ‘ be deemed the moſt ungrate- ‘ ful of all People, by not ac- ‘ knowledging the manifold Ad- ‘ vantages reaped through you, ‘ moſt accompliſhed Prelate! by ‘ this Republick.

‘ Who procured ſuch a *pro- ‘ found Tranquillity* to this Iſland, ‘ but your moſt *gracious Subli- ‘ mity!*—Who *delivered the Poor* ‘ from the Powerful; the *Needy* ‘ from the Rich; the *Plain- ‘ dealer* from the Quibbles of ‘ the Law without Delay? Who ‘ but your *moſt conſiderate Subli- ‘ mity!*—Who *ſeverely rebuked*, ‘ to deter others, the changling ‘ Profeſſors of the ſame Facul- ‘ ty? Who but this *moſt equita- ‘ ble Sublimity!* Who ordered ‘ the *Towns*, ruined through the ‘ boundleſs Avarice of the Wick- ‘ ed, *to be rebuilt?* Who had ‘ the *Fields*, fertile in all Man- ‘ ner of Fruit, but reduced to ‘ Paſture, *reſtored to the Farmers?* ‘ Who but your own *moſt pru- ‘ dent Sublimity!* Who brought ‘ the ſeveral Nations, who glo- ‘ ry in the *Banner of* CHRIST; ‘ the Kings, Emperors and Popes, ‘ to be our faithful Friends and ‘ Allies? Who but your *moſt ‘ excellent Sublimity!*——All the ‘ Advantages therefore of this ‘ Republick, after our moſt no- ‘ ble and invincible King *Henry* ‘ the VIIIth of that Name, to ‘ whom we are indebted for ‘ your Highneſs, if we reaſon ‘ right, we muſt acknowledge ‘ to flow from this *auſpicious ‘ Sublimity!*——For, moſt reli- ‘ gious Prelates, and you moſt ‘ noble Auditory, we cannot find, ‘ in all the Memory of Anti- ‘ quity, *one that has done ſo much* ‘ for any one City, Nation, or ‘ People, as this Prelate hath ‘ done, not only for this King- ‘ dom, but to the *Chriſtian* ‘ World. Should we ſearch all ‘ the Eccleſiaſtical Annals and ‘ Hiſtories of all the paſt Tranſ- ‘ actions, from the Beginning of ‘ *Chriſtianity*; the Lives of the ‘ Popes, in which the Virtues ‘ of the Cardinals are moſt fre- ‘ quently mentioned, we ſhall not ‘ find, in any one Age, among ‘ all the Cardinals, nor any one ‘ Cardinal, in all thoſe Ages, who ‘ has *performed ſuch great Things* ‘ for the Benefit of the *Chriſtian* ‘ Republick, in ſo ſhort a Time, ‘ as your Highneſs has done.—

‘ This

his learned Friends, who ſtudied nothing more ardently than to give him freſh Marks of their Gratitude. Then, Affairs of the State requiring his Preſence in *London*, he took leave of the Univerſity, and returned to

'This *Italy* confeſſes, tho' not 'very moderate in preferring her 'own Sons, and more diſpoſed 'to yield in every Thing elſe, 'rather than in Glory.——*Ger-* 'many acknowledges the ſame, 'and, with her unanimous Suf- 'frages, judge you worthy of 'the Papal Dignity.——*France* 'proclaims it, whoſe moſt *Chriſ-* 'tian King, *Francis* the Iſt, late- 'ly declared, *He had rather have* 'you for his Chancellor, than half 'his Kingdom.

'Laſtly, what Region, Place, 'Solitude, what remote Corner 'of the World, what People, 'Princes, or Kings are there, 'who do not avow the ſame, 'and to whom the Fame of 'theſe eminent Affairs, ſo glo- 'rioufly conducted by your *Wiſ-* 'dom, has not reached?—Your 'Renown is ſo far and near 'diffuſed, moſt Rev. Cardinal, 'as the *Chriſtian* World, not 'to ſay the Univerſe, extends. '——No learned Authors Praiſes 'of this Iſland have ever been 'more remotely ſpread, than the 'Grandeur of your *Heroick Vir-* 'tues have been propagated, 'which riſes and ſets with the 'Sun.

'The *Spaniard* adores, the '*Frenchman* venerates, the *Ger-* 'man is amazed, the *Italian* is 'ſurprized; not to mention the '*Bohemians*, *Hungarians*, *Poles*, 'and all *Flanders*, who no leſs con- 'gratulate your Felicity, than 'that Rabble of *Barbarian In-* 'fidels, ſubject to the Sun, in 'both the Eaſt and South, 'which your incomparable Pru- 'dence, known by the Nego- 'tiators, together with your 'ready and ſeaſonable Advice, 'and rare Experience in all Man- 'ner of Things, with your ma- 'ture Judgment in accommodat- 'ing of the Differences; and 'this (through the ſingular Pru- 'dence of our moſt illuſtrious 'King, and your Care) between 'the *Chriſtian* Princes and them. 'By which Means, Peace being 'reſtored, the *Infidels* have been 'kept within their own Limits, 'who otherwiſe would have in- 'vaded the *Chriſtian* Frontiers, 'with a hoſtile Army, Fire, and 'Sword.

'Wherefore there is no King, 'Emperor, or Pope, who does 'not court ſuch a Hero's Al- 'liance: If, therefore, any Car- 'dinal has acquired any un- 'common Fame, on account of 'the Peace reſtored between the '*Genoeſe* and the *Florentines*, or 'for the Treaty renewed between 'the *Venetians* and *Ferareſe*, or 'for laying the Spirit of Diſ- 'cord, which reigned among 'the *Guelphs* and *Gibelines*, or 'for having accommodated the 'Jars and Contentions of a few

'Factions,

to Court, where he was graciously received by his Royal Master.

The University of *Oxford* was also not unmindful of the Favours they had already received from the Car-

‘ Factions, you alone have, *by*
‘ *much exceeded them all!*
‘ Will you not be thought
‘ worthy of eternal Fame? You
‘ will, I say; and not that alone,
‘ but with the Approbation of
‘ the Celestian Throne: the *Glo-*
‘ *ry*, not undeservedly to be con-
‘ ferred on you by the CHIEF
‘ AUTHOR of all Beings, will
‘ never have an End with the
‘ Inhabitants of Heaven! O hap-
‘ py Land which gave you Birth!
‘ happier Princes to whom you
‘ had Access! most happy King-
‘ dom to which such a *Prime*
‘ *Minister* has been allotted!—
‘ And we *Cantabrigians* not the
‘ last, but rather the first Par-
‘ takers of this Happiness! not
‘ only by your so greatly favour-
‘ ing this our Academy, and
‘ taking some of her Sons into
‘ your own most noble Family,
‘ heaping no small Gifts on them,
‘ but that you have condescended
‘ to grace us with your Presence,
‘ to permit us to behold your
‘ most endearing Countenance,
‘ and to embrace your Highness
‘ is by much more delightful.
‘ It would be a difficult Task
‘ to recite with what Pleasure,
‘ Mirth, and Joy, our fluttering
‘ Hearts received the News of
‘ your coming, much easier to
‘ be conceived than expressed.—
‘ Yourself has seen with what
‘ pleasant and serene Looks,
‘ with what incredible Applause
‘ of all, with what certain and
‘ unfeigned Testimonies of Cor-
‘ dialness, you have been re-
‘ ceived.
‘ These Walls, these Pillars,
‘ these Benches, this Solemnity,
‘ and, lastly, all these *learned*
‘ *Men*, seem not only to vie
‘ with me, but seriously to glo-
‘ ry in their having been enno-
‘ bled by *such a Guest*.—I wish
‘ you could see with your most
‘ piercing Eyes the Sentiments
‘ and Affections of our Souls!
‘ Then would you find with what
‘ Sincerity and Candor, free
‘ from Artifice, Drapery, or Dis-
‘ guise, this Oration is spoken.
‘ Tho' we are exceeded by all
‘ in Riches, the Magnificence of
‘ Buildings, and Grandeur of
‘ Furniture; yet we shall yield
‘ to none in this earnest Prayer,
‘ which is, *That you may be a*
‘ *propitious Patron to this Acade-*
‘ *my, as you are wont to be to*
‘ *all others! and that the great*
‘ *and good* GOD *may preserve*
‘ *you long and safe for the publick*
‘ *Good!*’

Permit us here to ask one Question, Why did not the Adversaries of this great Man, when they were *digging for Inscriptions*, bring this *high Encomium* upon the Stage, and prove, if they could, every Article of it false? See the Close of this Volume.

Cardinal, particularly that of founding the Lectures in their Univerſity before-mentioned, which they gratefully acknowledged in this Letter.

" *To the moſt Reverend Lord and Father in Chriſt,*
" THOMAS, *by Divine Providence, Archbiſhop of*
" York, *Chancellor of all* England, *and Legate a*
" *Latere.*

" WE cannot, moſt Worſhipful Father in Chriſt,
" after ſo many great and noble Gifts re-
" ceived from you, but give you our everlaſting
" Thanks. How liberal, how magnificent, how ge-
" nerous you have always been to us, would be ſu-
" perfluous to recite: For were we even to be ſilent
" on this Head, the Facts themſelves will ſpeak it.
" And, to paſs over your delightful Lectures and
" Admonitions, to encourage us in the Purſuit of
" Virtue and Learning, of how great Advantage,
" O good GOD! was your Liberality, your Genero-
" ſity, and your Benignity for us, in the preſerv-
" ing of our Community? Nor can it be eaſily
" expreſſed, how uſeful your Lectures are in every
" Reſpect, eſpecially thoſe in *Divinity*, the Pro-
" vince of interpreting which has been lately un-
" dertaken by your ſincere Admirer, *Thomas Brack-*
" *nell*, with great Zeal and Alacrity. What Ac-
" knowledgments, *divine Archpontiff!* and moſt holy
" Father in Chriſt! ſhall we make for ſo many
" Bounties? Nothing almoſt but our humble Prayers,
" or rather ourſelves, to which you have bound us
" all. As to what we have ſignified to *your Ho-*
" *lineſs* in our laſt Letters, with regard to the Pools
" and ſtagnated Waters,* *&c.* we expected your Or-
" ders therein. Farewel, *&c.*

* This ſhews, that the Cardinal did not buſy himſelf about their Learning and Grandeur only, but condeſcended, like a *good Father* indeed, to take under his Care their Health and Neceſſaries of Life; and that they would not manage even theſe ſmall Matters without his Concurrence.

Affairs of Scotland. 1520.

In *Scotland* * the Troubles ſtill continued, they being divided into two Factions, whereof *Andrew Hamilton* and *George Douglas* were the Heads. During the Year 1520 the *Hamiltonians* found Means to compel *Archibald Douglas*, Earl of *Angus* (one of the Duke of *Albany*'s Regency) to relinquiſh his Poſt; after which they would have taken away his Life, but that with 80 Men he beat, in the Streets of *Edinburgh*, above 1000 of his Enemies, and drove them out of the City. All this ſerved only to exaſperate more and more the Factions againſt one another; ſo that, at length, *Douglas* received into his Party all the Friends of the two *Humes*, beheaded by the Regent, in order, with their Aſſiſtance, to withſtand the Enemy. Theſe were ſaid to be the ſad Effects of *Albany*'s Abſence. Mean while the Truce between the two Kingdoms was further prolonged to the 9th of *April* then enſuing, by the King of *France*'s Mediation; and the Council of *Scotland* promiſed to ſend an honourable Ambaſſy to the King of *England*, in order to ſettle a ſolid Peace between the two Kingdoms.

Luther

* *Scotland* is the ſecond Kingdom in *Great-Britain*, bounded on the Eaſt by the *German* Ocean; on the North by the *Deucalidonian* Sea, and the Iſles of *Orkney*; on the Weſt by the *Vergivian* Ocean, and the *Iriſh* Sea; on the South by the River *Tweed*, the *Cheviot* Hills, and the adjacent Tract to *Solway* Sands, whereby it is ſeperated from *England*. *Solway-firth* lies in 56 Deg. of Lat. and the moſt Northern Point lies in 60d. 30m. by which it ſhould be 316 *Engliſh* Miles in Length; *Polydor Virgil* reckons 480. Its breadth is no where above 60. Its Form is Triangular, with many great Inlets and Arms of the Ocean, which indent both the Weſtern and Eaſtern Sides of it.

It is divided into two Parts, by *Dunbrittan* and *Edinburgh-firth*: The *Northern*, containing 13 Counties, is generally barren, affords little Timber and no Fruit Trees; the Inhabitants, called *Highlanders*, are moſtly poor, bear Cold and Hunger with Patience, and are always very temperate in their Diet. *South Scotland*, divided into 21 Counties, is more fertile, better inhabited, having more Cities and great Towns; and the People are more civilized, inured to Trade and Navigation, and of courſe much wealthier. The Air in both is cold and ſharp.

Luther continued to oppoſe the Pope's Authority, and to write Invectives againſt the Cruſade; and his Defection was ſo far encreaſed, that he ſtill made a greater Noiſe in *Germany*. As he found himſelf now ſupported by the Duke of *Saxony*, his Sovereign, he ſhewed no Uneaſineſs at the Pope's Threatnings. *Further Accounts of* Luther. 1520.

The famous *Italian* Hiſtorian, *Guicciardin*, ſpeaks of *Luther*'s Proceedings after the following Manner: "That *Luther* was firſt encouraged, in his Oppoſition "to the Power of the Pope, and the Authority of "the Church of *Rome*, thro' Ambition and popular "Inclination, joined with the ſpecial Favour of the "Duke of *Saxony*. This led him to banter the Images "in Churches, and to juſtify the depriving Eccleſia-"ſticks of their Goods; and likewiſe juſtified the "Marriages both of Monks and Nuns; ſupporting "his Doctrine, not only with Authority and Argu-"ments, but alſo by the Example of himſelf. He "denied, that the Power of the Pope extended "out of the Biſhoprick of *Rome*; and maintained, "that every other Biſhop had as much Authority and "Power in his particular Dioceſe, as the Pope had in "that of *Rome*. He rejected all Matters determined "in Councils, all Traditions written by thoſe that are "called Doctors of the Church, and all Canons and "Decrees of Popes; and reduced himſelf only to the "Old Teſtament and the Book of the Goſpels, to "the Acts of the Apoſtles, to all that is comprehended "under the *New Teſtament*, and to the Epiſtles of "St. *Paul*. Only he gave to all theſe a new Senſe and "Interpretation, ſuch as never had been heard of; and "as *Luther* was ſoon followed by moſt Parts of *Ger-"many*, who running daily into Errors, he ſoon be-"came more deteſtable and dangerous; for now *Lu-"ther* meddled with the Sacraments of the Church, "and deſpiſed Faſtings, Penances and Confeſſions; "ſome of his Followers differ ſomewhat from him

" in Opinion, and did not ſtick at ſpeaking Blaſ-
" phemy againſt the Euchariſt. All which Things
" were originally condemned by the Authority of the
" Councils and holy Doctors. The Pope laboured,
" in the Beginning, to quench this peſtiferous Doc-
" trine, and yet he forbore to uſe Remedies and Me-
" dicines proper and convenient to cure ſo great a
" Malady." On the other hand *Guicciardin* frankly owns, that the Pope at the ſame time did not abſtain from being guilty of ſeveral Actions that were of evil Example, and ſuch as had been very juſtly blamed, and were very intolerable to all Men; and doth not juſtify his Proceedings againſt *Luther*, whom he had proſecuted both by his ſpiritual and temporal Power: This Treatment rather augmenting *Luther*'s Reputation in the Minds of the People, than diminiſhing their Affection for him, and conſidered him as a Perſon under Proſecution on Account of Doctrines he had advanced, which many of them had approved of.

The Pope, however, was not wanting in his Endeavours to bring back thoſe in *Germany*, that adhered to *Luther*, by gentle Means. For that End he put ſeveral religious Men upon preaching againſt *Luther*, and countenanced them with recommendatory Letters, to the Princes and Prelates of that Country, who continued in their Obedience to the Holy See. But neither that Courſe, nor any other Means, which he uſed to oppoſe *Luther*, met with the deſired Succeſs; for he was now become ſo conſiderable, that ſeveral Councils were held at *Rome*, in the Pope's Preſence, to conſider what was proper to be done. After many Meetings among the Cardinals, it was declared by a conſiderable Number of them, " That the Proſecu-
" tions carried on againſt *Luther*, whoſe Doctrines
" were not damnable, had rather encreaſed his Repu-
" tation with the People than brought him back; and
" that it would have been better to have taken no
" Notice of him, who might, in the End, have come

" to

" to nothing: And that, by blowing the Coals, the " Fire burnt only the more, and caſt the greater " Flame." Yet ſuch is the Nature of ſome Men, that nothing will ſatisfy them, but to proceed to Extremities and endeavour to carry their Point by Force and violent Meaſures, as was practiſed in this Caſe; for, inſtead of taking moderate Steps with *Luther*, as ſome of the Cardinals had adviſed, the Pope redoubled the Proſecution againſt him and his Followers, and diſperſed about a threatning Monition againſt the Duke of *Saxony*; which, inſtead of having the deſired Effect, made him a more zealous Protector of *Luther*'s Cauſe; and, for the Space of many Years, his Proſelytes went on multiplying ſo faſt in *Germany*, that there was great Danger, leſt the Reſidue of *Chriſtendom* ſhould be infected with the Contagion.

But what encouraged *Luther* the moſt to adhere to the Doctrine he had advanced was, that he found himſelf favoured not only by ſome great Princes, and the People of *Germany*, but likewiſe by many learned Men of Diſtinction from ſeveral other Parts of the World; particularly, *Zuinglius* in *Switzerland* openly declared for his Doctrine, and inveighed with great Warmth againſt the Perſon who was appointed to publiſh the Indulgences in that Country. He next proceeded to condemn the Invocation of Saints, the Sacrifice of the Maſs, Eccleſiaſtical Laws, Vows, Celibacy of Prieſts, and Abſtinence from Meats; yet, without introducing any Change in the outward Worſhip.

Philip Melanchton, a grave and pious Man, and of a moſt ſweet and excellent Diſpoſition, well verſed in human and divine Literature, was alſo *Luther*'s particular Friend: And, when the Univerſity of *Paris* had condemned his Opinion, he wrote a Book in his Vindication againſt them, and accompanied *Luther* to *Leipſick*, where this latter had a Conference with *Eccius*, who deſired to begin the Diſpute upon the

the Article of the Pope's Authority; but *Luther*, looking upon it as an enſnaring Propoſition, at that Time declined it.

It was alſo thought, that *Luther* was further animated, to proceed in his Zeal againſt the Superſtition that had crept into the Church, by the following Letter, wrote to him by *Eraſmus*.

ERASMUS ROTERODAMUS *to* MARTIN LUTHER.

Moſt dear Brother in Chriſt,

"YOUR former Letter was very acceptable to "me, it being written with much Vivacity, "and breathing alſo a Chriſtian Spirit. I have not "Words ſufficient to inform you what tragical Com- "plaints your Books have here occaſioned; and that "moſt falſe Suſpicion, which makes People think "that your Lucubrations were written by my Aſ- "ſiſtance, and that I am the principal Promoter of "this Faction, as they call it, is not yet rooted out "of their Minds. Some imagined, that an Oppor- "tunity was now offered them, by which they might "put a Stop to the Progreſs of good Literature, to "which they have a capital Hatred, as it is likely to "be of bad Conſequence to the Theological Divi- "nity, which is of more Eſteem with them than "Chriſt himſelf; and by which alſo they might "ſuppreſs me, whom they look upon of ſome Con- "ſequence towards the revival of Learning. The "whole Affair is carried on with great Noiſe and "Raſhneſs, with Subtilities, Detractions, and falſe "Accuſations; ſo that, if I had not been preſent to "have ſeen theſe Things, and even to have felt "them, I could not have believed, that *Divines* could "have been ſo outrageous. You would ſay it was a "ſort of fatal Madneſs; and yet the Poiſon of this "Evil, which but few were the Authors of, has in- "fected many; inſomuch that a great Part of this "Academy, which is no ſmall one, were enraged

"with

" with the Contagion of this Diſeaſe. I declared to
" them, that you were a Perſon I had no Knowledge
" of, that I had never read your Books, and conſe-
" quently could neither blame nor approve any thing
" in them. I only admoniſhed them, that, not having
" read your Books, they would not raiſe ſo odious
" a Clamour amongſt the People, and that this Affair
" concerned them whoſe Judgment ought to be of
" the greateſt Weight. And I alſo adviſed them,
" that they would ſeriouſly reflect, whether it was
" proper that thoſe Things ſhould be reviled among
" a promiſcuous Mob, which it would be much bet-
" ter to refute in printed Books, or to have diſputed
" among learned Men. All was to no purpoſe; for
" they ſtill rage with their virulent, and even in-
" famous Diſputations. How often was it endea-
" voured to have Things pacified among us? How
" often, from a little Suſpicion raſhly conceived, did
" they ſtir up new Diſturbances? And yet theſe Men
" think themſelves *Divines*, notwithſtanding theſe
" Proceedings. This ſort of Men, which we have
" here, are almoſt hated by the Court, which alſo
" is imputed to me. I have all the Biſhops my
" Friends; but theſe Men truſt not their Cauſe to
" Books or Writings, but place their Hope of Vic-
" tory in ſcandalous Reports, which, not being con-
" ſcious of having done any thing amiſs, I deſpiſe.
" As to you, they are become a little more mode-
" derate. Perhaps they are afraid of my Pen, being
" conſcious to themſelves of Guilt; for I would cer-
" tainly paint them as they deſerve in their own
" Colours, but that both the Doctrine and Example
" of Chriſt call me to ſome other Buſineſs. Fierce
" wild Beaſts grow milder by any good Offices
" that are done them, but Kindneſſes have a con-
" trary Effect on theſe Men. You have thoſe in
" *England* who think very well of your Writings,
" and they are very conſiderable Men. And thoſe

" here

" here too who favour them, among whom is one " eminent Perſon. I keep myſelf as inoffenſive " as I can, that I may be of more Service to the " reviving State of Learning. And I think, that " a courteous Modeſty is more conducive to this Pur- " poſe, than Heat and Violence: Thus CHRIST brought " the World under his own Obedience: Thus *Paul* " abrogated the *Jewiſh* Law, bringing all their Te- " nets to Allegories. It is more expedient to exclaim " againſt thoſe who abuſe the Pope's Authority, than " againſt the Pope himſelf; which Conduct, I think, " ſhould be alſo obſerved with regard to crowned " Heads.* The Schools are not to be deſpiſed, " but rather encouraged, that moderate Learning may " be reſtored. As to Prejudices, that they may make " no long Abode in the Mind, cloſe and pointed Ar- " guments muſt be uſed. It is more proper to ſlight " than to refute the virulent Contentions of ſome " People; and Care muſt always be taken, leſt we " ſhould advance or act any thing arrogantly or " factiouſly,* which, I am of Opinion, will be grate- " ful to the *Spirit of Chriſt*. In the mean time " Care is to be taken, leſt the Mind ſhould be cor- " rupted with Anger, Hatred, or Vanity, which, in " the midſt of Piety, lay in Ambuſh for us.* I " do not only admoniſh to exerciſe thoſe Duties " you are actually employed in, but pray that you " may always continue in them. I have ſeen your " Commentaries on the *Pſalms*; they pleaſe exceed- " ingly; and hope they will be very uſeful. There is " a Prior of a Monaſtery at *Antwerp*, a Man truly " Chriſtian, who has a very great Regard for you, " and values himſelf for having formerly been your " Diſciple. He alone among ſo many *preaches Chriſt*; " whilſt others dwell on the *Fables of Men*, or their " *own Intereſt*. I have wrote to *Melanchton*. I pray " that

* Very proper Hints to the *Populace*, who too often err in theſe Reſpects.

" that the LORD JESUS *may daily beſtow his Spirit*
" *more copiouſly on you*, for his Glory and the pub-
" lick Good. I had not your laſt Letter when I
" wrote theſe Lines. Farewel.

Louvain, the 3d *Kal.*
of *June*, 1520.

Hear Mr. POPE,* who writes as if he had lived at the very Time.

LEARNING *and* ROME *alike in Empire grew,*
And Arts *ſtill follow'd, where her* Eagles *flew.*
From the ſame Foes, at laſt, both felt their Doom,
And the ſame Age ſaw LEARNING *fall, and* ROME:
With Tyranny *then* Superſtition *join'd,*
As that the Body, this enſlav'd the Mind;
Much was believ'd, *but little* underſtood,
And to be dull *was conſtru'd to be* good;
A ſecond Deluge LEARNING *thus o'er-run,*
And the Monks *finiſh'd what the* Goths *begun.*
At length ERASMUS, *that great, injur'd Name,*
(The Glory of the Prieſthood, and the Shame!)
Stem'd the wild Torrent of a barb'rous Age,
And drove thoſe Holy Vandals *off the Stage.*

LUTHER's Commotions gave the Emperor ſo much Uneaſineſs, that, before the laſt Year expired, he ordered a Diet to be held at *Worms*, in *Germany*, on the 6th of *February*, in hopes to find out ſome Expedient to ſtop the Progreſs of his Doctrines, which he had ſo much at Heart, that he was reſolved to aſſiſt at it in Perſon. Therefore upon our King *Henry* ſent the learned Dr. *Tunſtal* on his Behalf. Diet *held at* Worms. 1521.

The Diet was opened on the Day appointed,† but it

* *Eſſay on Criticiſm.*

† Some Authors ſay, that *Luther* appeared at the Diet in Perſon; and that his Behaviour there ſo diſpleaſed the Emperor, that he bid him *be gone*, upon which he left *Worms*.

it broke up without effecting any Thing. Some Account of what was there tranſacted, and of the Spirit of the People of *Germany*, may be gathered from the following Extract of a Letter, from Dr. *Tunſtal* to Cardinal *Wolſey*.

" The *Germans* are every where ſo addicted to " *Luther*, that, rather than he ſhould be oppreſſed " by the Pope's Authority, a very large Number of " them offer to ſacrifice their Lives in his Cauſe; " and there are not wanting among them ſome very " conſiderable, who repreſented to the Emperor, *that*, " beſides *Luther*'s Learning, *he was a Man of Virtue* " *and Probity*. *Luther* offers to make his Defence, " and retract thoſe Opinions which he could not de- " fend by Authority of the Holy Scriptures. After " he perceived that he ſhould not be admitted to " come to the Diet, for which he had once Liberty " and ſafe Conduct granted, (tho' afterwards revoked " at the Inſtance of the Pope) deſpairing of be- " ing heard in his own Defence, he openly, in the " Town of *Wittemberg*, gathered the People and " Univerſity together, and burnt the Decretals, *&c.* " as erroneous Books, and cauſed a Declaration to be " printed in the *Dutch* Tongue, and diſperſed about " the Country; which hath been ſince tranſlated by " ſome idle Perſon into *Latin*, a Copy whereof I ſend " to your Grace, to the Intent your Grace may cauſe " it to be burnt, and call before you the Printers " and Bookſellers, to give them a ſtrict Charge, that " they bring none of his Books into *England*, or " tranſlate them into *Engliſh*.

" Matters are puſhed ſo far, that Princes cannot " put a Stop to them. The Original was the great " Sum of Money, from which the People would " have the Country diſcharged, that goeth to *Rome* " every Year for *Annates*, and Benefices conferred on " worthleſs and illiterate Perſons, who ſerve the " Pope in Quality of domeſtick Servants, and even

" ſuch

" ſuch as Cooks and Grooms; ſo that the eaſieſt Ex-
" pedient, I can think of, is, that the Pope ſhould
" condeſcend to loſe the ſaid *Annates*, or appoint
" ſome other Diſpoſition of Benefices.

" *Luther* wrote a Book ſince, intitled, *The Condem-*
" *nation of the Babyloniſh Captivity*; wherein he holds
" that four of the Sacraments are only of the Pope's
" Ordinance, as *Confirmation*, *Orders*, *Extream Unction*
" and *Matrimony*; and that *Baptiſm*, the *Euchariſt* and
" *Penance* are alone of Evangelical and Divine Right.
" They ſay, there are much more ſtrange Opinions
" in it, near to the Principles of the *Bohemians*. I
" pray God to keep that Book out of *England!*

" At the Requeſt of the Cardinal of *Grey*, in the
" Preſence of the Electors, the Emperor, the Pope's
" Ambaſſador, and the Cardinals, a *French* Preacher
" made a Sermon, and in the Beginning of it ſaid,
" The Pope was the Vicar of Chriſt in Spirituals, and
" the Cardinals and Biſhops, Apoſtles. How he came
" to change his Note I cannot tell, but afterwards he
" concluded, When they did amiſs, the Emperor
" ſhould reform the Diſorders they were guilty of,
" and even have the Power of depoſing them. Up-
" on this the Pope's Nuncio, having Commiſſion
" againſt *Luther*, laid the Premiſes to his Charge,
" but hath been openly bidden, by ſeveral Gentle-
" men, not to meddle with him. In the ſecond Ser-
" mon he exhorted the Emperor and all the other
" Princes to go into *Italy*, which depends on the
" Empire, and to reform ſuch Abuſes as ſhould be
" found there committed: To which Advice I find
" many of the Princes are inclined, becauſe every
" one may propoſe thereby ſome private Advantage
" to himſelf. The ſame Fryar, but by whom I know
" not, is ordered to preach here during the Lent
" Seaſon.

" *Luther* offereth, if the Emperor will go to *Rome*
" to reform the Church, to bring him 100,000

" Men; whereunto the Emperor, as a pious Prince, " will not hearken. The ſame *Luther* hath many " great Clerks that hold with him, except in ſome " Points, in reſpect to which he hath advanced more " than he can, or will juſtify, to the Intent that, in " the Sequel, he might be heard, and a Council " called for Reformation, whereof the Pope will not " hear, but ſtandeth to his Condemnation."

The Sentiments of *Tunſtal*, in relation to the Conduct and Doctrine of *Luther*, were at that Time highly agreeable to thoſe of our Court, and eſpecially to the King.

King Henry *writes againſt* Luther.

Henry's Zeal was ſo much irritated againſt *Luther*'s Proceedings, eſpecially when he ridiculed the Works of *Thomas Aquinas*, that he condeſcended to enter the Liſts with *Luther* in Quality of a Diſputant, aſſiſted, as many aver, by his Prime Miniſter, Cardinal *Wolſey*, who was a great Favourer of *Aquinas*'s Doctrines.

This Controverſy his Majeſty finiſhed before the End of *July*, and the chief Points he defended were the Papal Authority, Indulgences, and the Number of the Sacraments.*

This Book was bound, and ſent to Dr. *Clark*, Dean of *Windſor*, the King's Ambaſſador then reſiding at *Rome*, who, upon the Receipt thereof, demanded a publick Audience of the Pope in the Conſiſtory, which was readily granted him; and, the Day fixed for that Purpoſe being come, he went in great State to his Audience, where, being received in a full Aſſembly, he preſented it to the Pope, the Title of which was, *Aſſertio Septem Sacramentorum*, dedicated to his Holineſs. The Holy Father, in token of the high Value he ſet upon this his Royal Son's learned and elaborate Preſent, firſt preſented the Doctor his Foot and afterwards his Cheek to kiſs; then with a ſolemn Air received the Book, which, Lord *Herbert* ſaith, he remembers to have

* See the Piece, which is ſtill extant both in *Latin* and *Engliſh*.

have ſeen in the *Vatican* Library. Upon this the Dr. made a learned Oration, and the Pope a gracious Reply.

The Pope next reſolved to confer on the King ſome new Title for this zealous Performance, and it was debated in the Conſiſtory, whether he ſhould be ſtiled *Protector* or *Defender* of the *Chriſtian Church*, or of the *Apoſtolick See*, or the *Apoſtolick* or *Orthodox King*; but *Fidei Defenſoris* was at laſt pitched upon, which Title had been formerly enjoyed by ſome of his Predeceſſors.

When this glorious Title was brought from *Rome*, the Cardinal introduced the Meſſenger into the King's Preſence at *Greenwich*, where the Bull was preſented to his Majeſty. Upon this ſeveral Lords and Gentlemen were ſent for to Court, where they attended the next Day, when the Cardinal came thro' the *Fryars-Obſervants* to wait on the King, the Meſſenger appeared in publick, and Part of the Nobility received and welcomed him from *Rome*.

The King himſelf met the Meſſenger in the Hall, and brought him up into one of the grand Rooms of the Court, where was a Throne raiſed for his Majeſty, who, being ſeated thereon and attended by the Cardinal, and many of the Nobility and Gentry, the Bull was preſented to the King, and he received it with great Reſpect, and ordered it to be read.

LEO, *Biſhop and Servant of the Servants of God: To our moſt Dear Son in Chriſt* HENRY, *the Illuſtrious* King *of* England, *and* Defender of the Faith, *ſends Greeting, and gives his Benediction.*

"BY the good Pleaſure and Will of Almighty "God, preſiding in the Government of the "*Univerſal Church*, though unworthy ſo great Charge, "We daily employ all our Thoughts, both at home "and abroad, for the continual Propagation of the

"*Holy*

" *Holy Catholick Faith*, without which none can be " ſaved. And, that the Methods which are taken " for repreſſing of ſuch as labour to overthrow the " *Church*, or pervert, and ſtain her by wicked Gloſſes, " and malicious Lies, may be carried on with con- " tinual Profit, as are ordered by the ſound Doc- " trine of the Faithful, and eſpecially of ſuch as " ſhine in Regal Dignity, We employ with all " our Power our Endeavours, and the Parts of our " Miniſtry. And as other *Roman Biſhops*, our Pre- " deceſſors, have been accuſtomed to beſtow ſome " particular Favours upon *Catholick Princes*, (as " the Exigences of Affairs and Times required) " eſpecially on thoſe who in tempeſtuous Times, " and whilſt the rapid Perfidiouſneſs of *Schiſma-* " *ticks* and *Hereticks* raged, not only preſerved " conſtantly in the true *Faith*, and unſpotted De- " votion of the Holy *Roman Catholick Church*, but " alſo as the legitimate Sons and ſtouteſt Champions " of the ſame, have oppoſed themſelves both Spiri- " tually and Temporally againſt the mad Fury of " *Schiſmaticks* and *Hereticks*.

" So alſo, *We*, for your Majeſty's moſt excellent " Works, and worthy Actions done for Us, and " this Holy See, in which by Divine Permiſſion we " Preſide, do deſire to confer upon your Majeſty, " with Honour and immortal Praiſes, *That*, which " may enable and engage you, carefully to drive " away from our Lord's Flock the *Wolves*, and cut " off, with the Material Sword, the rotten Members " that infect the myſtical Body of Jeſus Chriſt, and " confirm the Hearts of the almoſt diſcomforted " Faithful in the Solidity of *Faith*. Truly, when " our beloved Son, *John Clark*, your Majeſty's *Orator*, " did lately, in our Conſiſtory, in Preſence of our " venerable Brethren, *Cardinals* of the *ſacred Roman* " *Church*, and divers other holy *Prelates*, preſent " unto Us a Book, which your Majeſty, moved by

" your

" your Charity, (which effects every thing readily " and well) and enflamed with Zeal to his Holy " *Catholick Faith*, and Fervour of Devotion towards " Us, and this Holy *See*, did compose, as a most " noble and wholesome Antidote against the Errors " of divers *Hereticks*, often condemned by this Holy " See, and now again revived by MARTIN LUTHER: " When, I say, he offered this Book to Us to " be examined and approved by Our Authority, " and also declared, in a very eloquent Discourse, " *That as Your Majesty had, by true Reasons and the* " *undeniable Authority of Scripture, and holy Fathers,* " *confuted the notorious Errors of* LUTHER, *so you* " *are likewise ready, and resolved to prosecute, with* " *all the Forces of your Kingdom, those who shall pre-* " *sume to follow or defend them.* Having found in " this *Book* most admirable Doctrine, sprinkled with " the Dew of Divine Grace, We rendered infinite " Thanks to Almighty God, from whom every good " Thing and every perfect Gift proceeds; for, being " pleased to fill with his Grace, and to inspire your " most excellent Mind, inclined to all Good, to de- " fend by your Writings his *Holy Faith*, against the " new Broacher of these condemned Errors, and to " invite all other *Christians*, by your Example, to " assist and favour, with all their Power, the *Orthodox* " *Faith* and *Evangelical Truth*, now under so great " Peril and Danger.

" Considering that it is but *just*, that those, who " undertake pious Labours in Defence of the Faith " of Christ, should be extolled with all Praise and " Honour; and being willing, not only to magnify " with condign Praise, and approve with Our Au- " thority, what your Majesty has with Learning " and Eloquence writ against *Luther*, but also to " honour your Majesty with such a *Title*, as shall " give all *Christians* to understand, as well in our " Times as in succeeding Ages, how acceptable and

" wel-

" welcome Your *Gift* was to *Us*, eſpecially in this
" Juncture of Time, We, the true Succeſſor of St. *Peter*,
" whom *Chriſt* before his Aſcenſion left as his Vicar
" upon Earth, and to whom he committed the Care
" of his Flock, preſiding in this Holy *See*, from
" whence all *Dignity* and *Titles* have their Source,
" having with our Brethren maturely deliberated on
" theſe Things, and with one Conſent unanimouſly
" decreed to beſtow on your Majeſty this Title, *viz.*
" DEFENDER OF THE FAITH: And as
" we have by this *Title* honoured you, We like-
" wiſe command all *Chriſtians*, that they *Name* your
" *Majeſty* by this *Title*; and that, in their Writings
" to your Majeſty, immediately after the Word
" *KING*, they add, *DEFENDER OF THE*
" *FAITH*. Having thus weighed and diligently
" conſidered your ſingular Merits, we could not have
" invented a more congruous *Name*, nor more wor-
" thy your Majeſty, than this worthy and moſt ex-
" cellent *Title*; which as often as you hear or read,
" you ſhall remember your own Merits and Virtues:
" Nor will you by this *Title* exalt Yourſelf, or be-
" come proud, but, according to your accuſtomed
" Prudence, rather be more humble in the Faith of
" Chriſt, and more ſtrong and conſtant in your De-
" votion to this *Holy See*, by which you were exalted.
" And you ſhall rejoice in our LORD, who is the
" Giver of all good Things, for leaving ſuch a per-
" petual and everlaſting Monument of your Glory to
" Poſterity, and ſhewing the Way to others, that, if
" they alſo covet to be inveſted with ſuch a Title,
" they may ſtudy to do ſuch Actions, and to follow
" the Steps of your Moſt Excellent Majeſty: Whom,
" with your Wife, Children, and all who ſhall ſpring
" from you, We bleſs with a bountiful and liberal
" Hand, in the Name of HIM from whom the Power
" of Benediction is given to Us; *and by whom Kings*

" *reign*

" *reign, and Princes govern, and in whoſe Hands are*
" *the Hearts of Kings.*

" Praying and beſeeching the MOST HIGH, to
" confirm your Majeſty in your holy Purpoſes, and
" to augment your Devotion; and, for your moſt ex-
" cellent Deeds done in Defence of his *Holy Faith*, to
" render your Majeſty ſo illuſtrious and famous to the
" whole World, as that our Judgment, in adorning
" you with ſo remarkable a *Title*, may not be thought
" vain, or light, by any Perſon whatſoever. And, fi-
" nally, after you have finiſhed your Courſe in this
" Life, that He may make you Partaker of his Eter-
" nal Glory.

" It ſhall not be lawful for any Perſon whatſoever,
" to infringe, or by any raſh Preſumption to act con-
" trary to *This Letter* of our Subſcribing, and Com-
" mand: But if any one ſhall preſume to make ſuch
" Attempt, let them know, *That he ſhall therefore in-*
" *cur the Indignation of* Almighty God, *and of the Holy*
" *Apoſtles* Peter *and* Paul.

" *Given at St.* PETER's *in* Rome, *the 5th of the* Ides
" *of* October, *in the Year of our Lord's Incar-*
" *nation* 1521, *and in the 9th Year of our* Pa-
" pacy."

The Bull being read, the King repaired to his Chapel, attended by his Court and the Foreign Ambaſſadors.

The Cardinal ſung High Maſs on this Occaſion; the Earl of *Eſſex* brought the Baſon of Water, the Duke of *Suffolk* gave the Aſſay, and the Duke of *Norfolk* held the Towel. When Maſs was over, the Bull was again publiſhed with the Sound of Trumpets, &c.

Then the King went to Dinner, in the midſt whereof his Heralds in the Hall proclaimed the King's new Title, *HENRICUS, Rex Angliæ & Franciæ, Defenſor Fidei, & Dominus Hiberniæ.* In ſhort the different Ceremonies made uſe of on this Occaſion, were carried on and ended with great Solemnity.

Fuller, in his *Church Hiſtory*, ſays, "There is a "Tradition, that *Patch*, the King's Fool, ſeeing his "Majeſty one Day very jocund, aſked him the "Reaſon? The King told him, it was becauſe of his "new Title; to which the Fool made this arch Re-"ply, *Prithee, good* Harry, *let thee and I defend one* "*another, and leave the* Faith *alone to defend itſelf.*"

Proceedings in England *againſt* Luther's *Doctrine.*

The *Lutheran* Hereſy (for ſuch it was now ſtiled) notwithſtanding all the Steps that were taken to ſtop it, almoſt every where began to diffuſe itſelf, and had reached the Univerſity of *Oxford*, and prevailed to ſuch a Degree, that, at the End of the Year 1521, the Cardinal ſent thither for ſome Scholars to attend him in *London*, for the refuting thoſe new Opinions. Whereupon the Univerſity appointed certain Perſons for that End, who held a ſort of a Convocation at the Cardinal's Houſe, with other learned Men and Prelates of the Realm, where *Luther*'s Doctrine was condemned as altogether repugnant to *Chriſtianity*; and a Tranſcript of the Cenſure was afterwards ſent to *Oxford*, and affixed on the Sun-dial of the South Side of *St. Mary*'s Church-yard; and ſoon after *Luther*'s Books were burnt both at *Oxford* and *Cambridge*.* And the Cardinal ſtill continued his watchful Eye for the Rights of that Univerſity; for in this Year the Citizens of *Oxford*, thinking that the Charter procured by *Wolſey* was loſt, ſcrupled not to aſſault the Scholars in the publick Streets. The Univerſity thereupon ſent Dr. *Loridon* to the Cardinal, who, on hearing the Treatment the Scholars had met with, diſpatched Dr. *Longland* to enquire upon the Spot into the Grounds of theſe

* It is very remarkable, that, tho' our Cardinal cauſed *Luther*'s Doctrines to be condemned, and might order his Books to be *burnt*, he was not eager of driving his Adherents into the Flames; for there was not one executed as an *Heretick* by his Judgment or Direction, which, we think, is much to his Credit. But the ſame cannot be ſaid of either *Warham* or *Cranmer*, whilſt they alternately preſided at the Head of the Church of *England*.

theſe Controverſies: And at length the Cardinal having obtained of the King a Charter, about the Beginning of the Year 1523, agreeable to the Deſires of the Univerſity, he tranſmitted the ſame to *Oxford*, with proper Directions for the due Obſervation of it, which was the Means of quieting the Diſturbances that had ariſen.

Proceedings againſt the Duke of Buckingham.

About this Time no leſs a Charge than that of High Treaſon was exhibited againſt the Duke of *Buckingham*.* When the Duke was firſt accuſed, he was at his Seat at *Thornbury* in *Gloucesterſhire*, to which the King ſent a ſpecial Meſſenger to require his Attendance at Court. No ſooner was he arrived, but he was arreſted by Sir *Henry Marney*, Captain of the Guards, and inſtantly conveyed to the Tower.

*Shakeſpear** gives us a dramatic Detail of the Diſcovery of this Matter, and the high Reſentment the Duke of *Buckingham* had conceived againſt the Cardinal, in the following Scenes.

As ſoon as the Duke was in Cuſtody an Indictment was preferred againſt him for High Treaſon, on certain

* PLAY *of* HENRY *the* VIIIth. SCENE II.

Enter Cardinal Wolſey, *the Purſe borne before him, certain of the Guard, and two Secretaries with Papers; the Cardinal in his Paſſage fixing his Eye on* Buckingham, *and* Buckingham *on him, both full of Diſdain.*

Wol. The Duke of *Buckingham*'s Surveyor! ha?
Where's his Examination?
Secr. Here, ſo pleaſe you.
Wol. Is he in Perſon ready?
Secr. Ay, an't pleaſe your Grace.
Wol. Well, we ſhall then know more,
And *Buckingham* ſhall leſſen this big Look.
[*Exeunt Cardinal and his Train.*
Buck. This Butcher's Cur is Venom-mouth'd, and I
Have not the Pow'r to muzzle him; therefore beſt
Not wake him in his Slumber. A Beggar's Book
Out-worths a Noble's Blood.
Nor. What, are you chaf'd?

tain Words ſpoke by him at *Blechingley* in *Surry*, againſt the King, to Lord *Abergavenny*.

There was alſo another Indictment for the ſame Offence preferred againſt him in *London*, and found at the *Guildhall* of the ſaid City, before Sir *John Bruge*, Knt. then Lord Mayor.

On the 6th of *May* a Commiſſion iſſued, conſtituting the Duke of *Norfolk* Lord High Steward,* for the Trial of the ſaid Duke, in *Weſtminſter-hall*, where was erected a commodious Court-room for that Purpoſe, upon Scaffolds *railed in and counter-railed*, as *Hall* terms it.

The

Ask God for Temp'rance, that's th'Appliance only
Which your Diſeaſe requires.
Buck. I read in's Looks
Matter againſt me, and his Eye revil'd
Me as his abject Object: At this Inſtant
He bores me with ſome Trick. He's gone to th'King:
I'll follow and out-ſtare him.
Nor. Stay, my Lord,
And let your Reaſon with your Choler queſtion,
What 'tis you go about? To climb ſteep Hills
Requires ſlow Pace at firſt. Anger is like
A full-hot Horſe, who, being allow'd his Way,
Self-mettle tires him. Not a Man in *England*
Can adviſe me, like you: Be to yourſelf
As you would to your Friend.
Buck. I'll to the King,
And, from a Mouth of Honour, quite cry down
This *Ipſwich* Fellow's Inſolence; or proclaim,
There's Diff'rence in no Perſons.

Nor.

* This is the firſt Great Officer of the Crown, and as antient as King *Edward the Confeſſor*'s Days, and is the firſt Office under the King. *Simon Montfort*, Earl of *Leiceſter*, held this Office, who, forfeiting his Eſtate to King *Henry* the IIId, that Prince and his Succeſſors, conceiving the Power too great, thought it no longer proper to be truſted in the Hands of any Subject, but only, *pro hac vice*, to officiate at a Coronation, or on the Trials of Peers.

By Virtue of the firſt he ſitteth judicially, and keeps his Court in the King's Palace, where he receives the Petitions of all Noblemen or others, who claim to do Service at the King's Coronation, for which he receives certain Fees due by Cuſtom.

The Day of Trial being come, the Duke was ordered to be brought up to *Weſtminſter*; the Judges in their Robes waited on the *Lord High Steward*, to pay their Compliments to his Grace; and, after receiving the ſame, and making a ſhort Stay, his Grace proceeded to *Weſtminſter-hall* in the following Order.

His Grace's Gentlemen two and two bare-headed.

His Serjeant at Arms bare-headed.

The Black-Rod with the Lord High Steward's Staff, and Garter, King at Arms on his Right-hand in his Coat of Arms, both bare-headed.

His Grace the Lord High Steward in his uſual Habit,

Nor. Be adviſ'd;
Heat not a Furnace for your Foe ſo hot,
That it do ſinge yourſelf. We may out-run,
By violent Swiftneſs, that which we run at,
And loſe by over-running. Know you not,
The Fire, that mounts the Liquor 'till't run o'er,
In ſeeming to augment it, waſtes it. Be
Adviſ'd, I ſay again; there is no *Engliſh*
Soul ſtronger to direct you than yourſelf,
If with the Sap of Reaſon you would quench,
Or but allay, the Fire of Paſſion.
Buck. Sir,
I'm thankful to you, and I'll go along
By your Preſcription: But this top-proud Fellow,
Whom from the Flow of Gaul I name not, but
From ſincere Motions; by Intelligence
And Proofs as clear as Founts in *July*, when
We ſee each Grain of Gravel, I do know
To be corrupt and treaſonous.
Nor. Say not Treaſonous!
Buck. To th'King I'll ſay't! and make my Vouch as ſtrong
As Shore of Rock.——Attend. This holy Fox,
Or Wolf, or both (for he is equal rav'nous
As he is ſubtle, and as prone to Miſchief
As able to perform't) his Mind and Place
Infecting one another; yea, reciprocally,
Only to ſhew his Pomp, as well in *France*
As here at Home, ſuggeſts the King our Maſter
To this laſt coſtly Treaty, th' *Interview*,
That ſwallow'd ſo much Treaſure, and, like a Glaſs,
Did break i'th' Rinſing.

Nor.

Habit, followed by the Two Chief Juſtices and other Judges.

As this was a Trial by ſpecial Commiſſion a Meſſenger was ſent ſome time before to the Lords attending, that his Grace was coming, and accordingly they took their Places in Court, among whom were the following,

Duke of *Suffolk*,	Earl of *Derby*,
Marquis of *Dorſet*,	Lord *St. John*,
Earl of *Worceſter*,	Lord *de la War*,
Earl of *Devonſhire*,	Lord *Willoughby de Brook*,
Earl of *Eſſex*,	Lord *Fitzwarren*,
Earl of *Kent*,	Lord *Herbert*,
Earl of *Oxford*,	Lord *Morley*.

The

Nor. Faith, and ſo it did.
Buck. Pray give me Favour, Sir——this cunning Cardinal
The Articles o'th' Combination drew
As himſelf pleas'd; and they were ratify'd
As he cry'd, Let it be—— to as much End,
As give a Crutch to th' Dead. But our Court-Cardinal
Has done this, and 'tis well:——For, worthy *Wolſey!*
Who cannot err, he did it. Now this follows,
(Which, as I take it, is a kind of Puppy
To th' old Dam, *Treaſon*) *Charles* the Emperor,
Under Pretence to ſee the Queen, his Aunt,
(For 'twas indeed his Colour, but he came
To whiſper *Wolſey*) here makes Viſitation:
His Fears were, that the Interview, betwixt
England and *France*, might, through their Amity,
Breed him ſome Prejudice; for from this League
Peep'd Harms that menac'd him. He privily
Deals with our Cardinal, and as I trow;
Which I do well—— for I am ſure the Emperor
Paid e're he promis'd, whereby his Suit was granted
E're it was ask'd. But, when the Way was made,
And pav'd with Gold, the Emp'ror thus deſir'd,
That he would pleaſe to alter the King's Courſe,
And break the foreſaid Peace. Let the King know,
(As ſoon he ſhall by me) that thus the Cardinal
Does buy and ſell his Honour as he pleaſes,
And for his own Advantage.
Nor. I am ſorry
To hear this of him! and could wiſh you were

Some-

The Lord High Steward, after ſaluting the Peers, ſeated himſelf.

The two Clerks of the Crown, one for the *Chancery* and the other for the *King's-Bench*, being at the Table, made three Reverences to the Lord High Steward. Then the Clerk in *Chancery*, having the King's Commiſſion in his Hand, upon his Knees preſented it to his Grace, who delivered it to the Clerk in the *King's-bench*, who, after making three Reverences, returned to the Clerks Table, and then directed his Grace's Serjeant at Arms to make Proclamation for Silence; which being done, he opened the Commiſſion, and read it twice; during which his Grace and the Lords ſtood up all uncovered. Then Garter and the Black-Rod, with three Reverences, jointly preſented the White Staff on their Knees to his Grace.

Next,

Something miſtaken in't.

Buck. No, not a Syllable:
I do pronounce him in that very Shape
He ſhall appear in Proof.

SCENE III.

Enter Brandon, *a Serjeant at Arms before him, and two or three of the Guard.*

Bran. Your Office, Serjeant! execute it.

Serj. Sir,
My Lord, the Duke of *Buckingham*, and Earl
Of *Hertford*, *Stafford*, and *Northampton*, I
Arreſt thee of High Treaſon, in the Name
Of our moſt Sov'reign King.

Buck. Lo you, my Lord,
The Net has fall'n upon me; I ſhall periſh
Under Device and Practice.

Bran. I am ſorry
To ſee you ta'en from Liberty, to look on
The Buſineſs preſent. 'Tis his Highneſs's Pleaſure
You ſhall to th' *Tower*.

Buck. It will help me nothing
To plead mine Innocence; for that Dye is on me,
Which makes my whit'ſt Part black. The Will of Heav'n
Be done in this and all Things! I obey.
O my Lord *Abergav'ny*, fare ye well.

Bran. Nay, he muſt bear you Company. The King
Is pleas'd you ſhall to th' *Tower*, 'till you know How

Next, Proclamation was made for Sir *Richard Cholmondeley*, Knt. Lieutenant of the Tower, to return the Precept to him directed, with the Body of the Priſoner, which was immediately complied with, and the Gentleman-Jailor brought the Duke of *Buckingham* to the Bar, with the Ax before him, who ſaluted the Lord High Steward, and the other Peers, his Judges: And *Grafton* tells us, "That the Clerk "of the Crown in the *King's-bench* ſaid, Edmond, "*Duke of* Buckingham, *hold up thy Hand*, which he "did."* Thereupon the Indictment was read over, to which the Duke pleaded, *Not guilty*, and, being aſked, How he would be tried? he put himſelf upon God and his Peers.

Then Mr. *Attorney General*, and the other Council for

How he determines further.
Aber. As the Duke ſaid,
The Will of Heav'n be done, and the King's Pleaſure
By me obey'd.
Bran. Here is a Warrant from
The King, t'attach Lord *Montague*, and the Bodies
Of the Duke's Confeſſor, *John de la Car*,
And *Gilbert Peck*, his Chancellor.
Buck. So, ſo;
Theſe are the Limbs o'th' Plot! No more, I hope!
Bran. A Monk o'th' *Chartreux*.
Buck. Nicholas Hopkins?
Bran. He.
Buck. My Surveyor is falſe, the o'er-great Cardinal
Hath ſhew'd him Gold; my Life is ſpann'd already:
I am the Shadow of poor *Buckingham*,
Whoſe Figure ev'n this Inſtant Cloud puts on,
By dark'ning my clear Sun. My Lord, Farewel. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE

* If what *Grafton* relates be true, the Cuſtom has been ſince altered, it having been determined, "That a Peer need not "hold up his Hand upon his "Arraignment, as a Commo-"ner; for that the former is "preſumed to be ſo well known, "as to render that Ceremony "needleſs; and that, as to a "Commoner's holding up his "Hand upon his Arraignment, "it is becauſe he ſhould be "known and diſtinguiſhed, by "the Judge and Jury, from the "other Perſons in Court."

for the King, opened the Charge, and, after that was fully ſpoken to, they proceeded to produce the Evidence in Support thereof.

Charles Knevet, lately Steward to the Duke, depoſed, "That he, the ſaid Duke, had a Deſign of "uſurping the Crown, and of dethroning the King, "in order to take the Government upon himſelf; and, "in Caſe of the King's Demiſe, of ſeizing the Crown "in ſpight of all that ſhould oppoſe him; and of "putting ſeveral of his Miniſters, in particular Car-"dinal *Wolſey* and Sir *Thomas Lovell*, to Death."

This Evidence was ſtrengthen in the moſt material Points by the Teſtimony of *de la Cour*, the Duke's Chaplain, and *Gilbert*, his Chancellor, with ſome additional Circumſtances tending to prove, "That "the

SCENE IV.

Enter King Henry, *his Queen, Cardinal* Wolſey, *the Nobles, and Sir* Thomas Lovell.

King to Wolſey. My Life itſelf, and the beſt Part of it,
Thanks you for this great Care: I ſtood i'th' Level
Of a full-charg'd Confed'racy, and give Thanks
To you that choak'd it. Let him be called before us,
That Gentleman of *Buckingham's*, in Perſon;
I'll hear him his Confeſſions juſtify,
And point by point the Treaſons of his Maſter
He ſhall again relate.

Enter Surveyor.

Queen. I'm ſorry that the Duke of *Buckingham*
Is run in your Diſpleaſure.

King. It grieves many;
The Gentleman is learn'd, a moſt rare Speaker;
To Nature none more bound; his Training ſuch,
That he may furniſh and inſtruct great Teachers,
And never ſeek for Aid out of himſelf:
Yet ſee, when noble Benefits ſhall prove
Not well diſpos'd, the Mind growing once corrupt,
They turn to vicious Forms, ten times more ugly
Than ever they were fair. This Man ſo compleat,
Who was enroll'd amongſt Wonders, and when we,
Almoſt with Liſt'ning raviſh'd, could not find,
His Hour of Speech, a Minute, he, my Lady,

" the Duke actually prepared Arms towards the Exe-
" cution of this Treaſonable Project; that he ordered
" Cloaths to be bought and diſtributed among ſeve-
" ral Perſons, to engage them to aſſiſt in it; con-
" ſtituting, upon the ſame View, more Officers in his
" Service, than he had formerly retained, who, under
" that Pretence, might better cover and carry on
" the Buſineſs, to which they ſhould be ſeverally
" appointed."

Hopkins the Monk alſo appeared in Evidence againſt him, who formerly pretended to a Prophetick Spirit, and whom the Duke had not only ſeveral times conſulted

Hath into monſtrous Habits put the Graces,
That once were his, and is become as black
As if beſmear'd in Hell!—Sit, you ſhall hear
(This was his Gentleman in Truſt) of him
Things to ſtrike Honour ſad. Bid him recount
Th' fore-cited Practices, whereof
We cannot feel too little, hear too much.
Wol. Stand forth, and with bold Spirit relate, what you
Moſt like a careful Subject, have collected
Out of the Duke of *Buckingham.*
King. Speak freely.
Surv. Firſt, it was uſual with him, every Day
It would infect his Speech, *That if the King*
Should without Iſſue die, he'd carry't ſo
To make the Scepter his. Theſe very Words
I've heard him utter to his Son-in-law,
Lord *Abergav'ny*, to whom by Oath he menac'd
Revenge upon the Cardinal.
Wol. Pleaſe your Highneſs, Note
His dangerous Conception in this Point:
Not friended by his Wiſh to your high Perſon,
His Will is moſt malignant, and it ſtretches
Beyond you to your Friends.
Queen. My learn'd Lord Cardinal,
Deliver all with Charity.
King. Speak on,
How grounded he his Title to the Crown
Upon our Fail? To this Point haſt thou heard him
At any Time ſpeak ought?
Surv. He was brought to this,
By a vain Prophecy of *Nicholas Hopkins.*

King.

conſulted by *de la Cour*, his Chaplain, but twice in Perſon, *concerning his Proſpect of ſucceeding to the Crown.*

The Evidence being gone through on the Part of the King, the Lord High Steward then addreſſed himſelf to the Duke of *Buckingham*, ſaying, "The "King our Sovereign Lord hath commanded, that "his Laws ſhall be fairly and indifferently admi- "niſtered, and that you ſhall have all the Favour that "can be reaſonably expected in your Circumſtances, "and therefore now is your Time to make your "Defence, and you ſhall be heard with all Patience."

The

King. What was that *Hopkins?*
Sur. Sir, a *Chartreux* Fryar,
His Confeſſor, who fed him ev'ry Minute
With Words of Sov'reignty.
King. How know'ſt thou this?
Surv. Not long before your Highneſs ſped to *France*,
The Duke being at the *Roſe*, within the Pariſh
St. *Lawrence Poultry*, did of me demand,
What was the Speech among the *Londoners*,
Concerning the *French* Journey? I reply'd,
Men fear'd the *French* would prove perfidious
To the King's Danger: Preſently the Duke
Said, *'Twas the Fear indeed, and that he doubted*
'Twould prove the Verity of certain Words
Spoke by a holy Monk, that oft, ſays he,
Hath ſent to me, wiſhing me to permit
John de la Car, *my Chaplain, a choice Hour,*
To hear from him a Matter of ſome Moment:
Who (after under the Commiſſion's Seal
He ſolemnly had ſworn, that what he ſpoke
My Chaplain to no Creature living but
To me ſhould utter) with demure Confidence,
Thus pauſingly enſu'd:——*Neither the King, nor's Heirs*
(Tell you the Duke) ſhall proſper; bid him ſtrive
To gain the Love o'th' Commonalty, the Duke
Shall govern England ———
Queen. If I know you well,
You were the Duke's Surveyor, and loſt your Office
On the Complaint o'th' Tenants; take good Heed
You charge not in your Spleen a noble Perſon,
And ſpoil your noble Soul: I ſay, take Heed;

Yes,

The Duke thanked the Lord High Steward, and made a moſt eloquent Speech, whereby he endeavoured to take off the Force of the Evidence, by ſhewing the manifeſt Prejudice the firſt of them had conceived againſt him, for turning him out of his Service: He alſo made his Remarks upon what the other Evidence had depoſed. After he had been fully heard, and the King's Council had replied thereto, the Duke withdrew from the Bar, and was carried to a Houſe, called *Paradiſe* near the Hall. Then the Lord High Steward collected the Votes of the *Lords Judges*, who unanimouſly found him guilty of *High Treaſon*.

The

Yes, heartily I beſeech you.
King. Let him on.
Go forward.
Surv. On my Soul, I'll ſpeak but Truth.
I told my Lord the Duke, By th' Devil's Illuſions
The Monk might be deceiv'd, and that 'twas dang'rous
For him to ruminate on this, until
It forg'd him ſome Deſign, (which being believ'd,
It was much like to do) he anſwer'd, *Tuſh*,
It can do me no Damage: Adding further,
That had the King, in his laſt Sickneſs, fail'd,
The Cardinal's and Sir Thomas Lovell's *Heads*
Should have gone off.
King. Ha! what ſo rank! Ah, ha———
There's Miſchief in this Man; Can'ſt thou ſay further?
Sur. I can, my Liege.
King. Proceed.
Sur. Being at *Greenwich*,
After your Highneſs had reprov'd the Duke
About Sir *William Blomer*———
King. I remember
Of ſuch a Time, he being my ſworn Servant,
The Duke retain'd him his. But on; what hence?
Surv. *If*, quoth he, *I for this had been committed,*
As to the Tower, *I thought; I would have play'd*
The Part my Father meant to act, upon
Th' Uſurper Richard, *who, being at* Salisbury,
Made Suit to come in's Preſence; which, if granted,
(As he made Semblance of his Duty) would
Have put his Knife into him.
King. A Giant Traitor.

Wol.

The ſame Day the Duke was brought again to the Bar; and *Grafton* relates, "That the Duke was ſore "chafed, and ſweat marvelouſly, when he was informed "of their Lordſhip's Verdict." And, after the uſual Queſtions were put to the Duke, *Why Sentence of Death ſhould not paſs againſt him?* and no material Matter offering in Arreſt of Judgment, his Grace, the Lord High Steward, proceeded to paſs Sentence of Death, which he did in ſo moving and affecting a Manner, that it drew Tears as well from himſelf as the By-ſtanders.

When the Lord High Steward had concluded his Sentence,

Wol. Now, Madam, may his Highneſs live in Freedom,
And this Man out of Priſon?
Quee. God mend all!
King. There's ſomething more would out of thee; what ſay'ſt?
Surv. After the Duke his Father with the Knife,
He ſtretch'd him, and with one Hand on his Dagger,
Another ſpread on's Breaſt, mounting his Eyes,
He did diſcharge a horrible Oath, whoſe Tenour
Was, *Were he evil us'd, he would out-go*
His Father, by as much as a Performance
Does an irreſolute Purpoſe.
King. There's his Period,
To ſheath his Knife in us: He is attach'd,
Call him to preſent Tryal; if he may
Find Mercy in the Law, 'tis his; if none,
Let him not ſeek't of us: By Day and Night
He's Traitor to the Height. [*Exeunt.*

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ACT II. SCENE I.

Enter two Gentlemen at ſeveral Doors.

1 *Gen.* Whither away ſo faſt?
2 *Gen.* O Sir, God ſave ye!
Ev'n to the Hall, to hear what ſhall become
Of the great Duke of *Buckingham.*
1 *Gen.* I'll ſave you
That Labour, Sir. All's now done, but the Ceremony
Of bringing back the Priſ'ner.
2 *Gen.* Were you there?
1 *Gen.* Yes Indeed was I.
2 *Gen.* Pray ſpeak what has happen'd!

1 *Gen.*

Sentence, and uſed the Words *Traitor*,—*As a Traitor*, cried *Buckingham*, *My Lord, I was never one, and I pray God, My Lords, to forgive you with all my Heart. I will not ſue to the King for Mercy, tho' I know him to be a very gracious Prince. Farewel, My Lords, pray for me.* [However, it ſufficiently appeared, from what he ſaid at the ſame Time, that a Pardon would not have been unacceptable to him.] And then he retired from the Bar, being remanded back to the Tower.

After which Proclamation being made for diſſolving the Commiſſion, his Grace ſtood up, and, having

1 *Gen.* You may gueſs quickly what.
2 *Gen.* Is he found guilty?
1 *Gen.* Yes, truly is he, and condemn'd upon't.
2 *Gen.* I'm ſorry for't.
1 *Gen.* So are a Number more.
2 *Gen.* But pray how paſt it?
1 *Gen.* I'll tell you in a little. The great Duke
Came to the Bar; where, to his Accuſations
He pleaded ſtill *Not guilty*, and alledg'd
Many ſharp Reaſons to defeat the Law.
The King's Attorney, on the contrary,
Urg'd on Examiuations, Proofs, Confeſſions
Of divers Witneſſes, which the Duke deſir'd
To have brought *viva voce* to his Face;
At which appear'd againſt him, his Surveyor,
Sir *Gilbert Peck*, his Chancellor, and *John Car*,
Confeſſor to him, with that Devil Monk
Hopkins, that made this Miſchief.
2 *Gen.* That was he
That fed him with his Prophecies.
1 *Gen.* The ſame.
All theſe accus'd him ſtrongly, which he fain
Would have flung from him; but indeed he could not:
And ſo his Peers upon this Evidence
Have found him guilty of *High Treaſon*. Much
He ſpoke, and learnedly, for Life; but all
Was either pitied in him or forgotten.
2 *Gen.* After all this, how did he bear himſelf?
1 *Gen.* When he was brought again to th' Bar, to hear
His Knell rung out, his Judgment, he was ſtirr'd
With ſuch an Agony, he ſweat extremely,
And ſomething ſpoke in Choler, ill and haſty:

But

ing received the White Staff, from Garter and the Black-Rod, broke it, which confirmed the Diſſolution.

The Duke on his Return, and entering the Barge, that was to convey him to the *Temple-ſtairs*, Sir *Thomas Lovell*, who had the Charge of conducting him, deſired he would ſit as before upon the Cuſhions; but he refuſed, ſaying, *That he came in Quality of Duke of* Buckingham, *but now was reduced to the Condition worſe than that of a private mean Perſon.*

Being landed, Sir *William Sands* having him by the Right-hand, and Sir *Nicholas Vaux* by the left, he deſired

But he fell to himſelf again, and ſweetly
In all the reſt ſhew'd a moſt noble Patience.
2 *Gen.* I do not think he fears Death.
1 *Gen.* Sure he does not,
He never was ſo Womaniſh; the Cauſe
He may a little grieve at.
2 *Gen.* Certainly,
The Cardinal is the End of this.
1 *Gen.* 'Tis likely,
By all Conjectures: Firſt *Kildare*'s Attainder,
Then Deputy of *Ireland*; who remov'd,
Earl *Surry* was ſent thither, and in haſte too,
Leſt he ſhould help his Father.
2 *Gen.* That Trick of State
Was a deep envious one.
1 *Gen.* At his Return,
No Doubt he will requite it; this is noted,
And gen'rally, whoever the King favours,
The Cardinal inſtantly will find Employment for,
And far enough from Court too.
2 *Gen.* All the Commons
Hate him perniciouſly, and o' my Conſcience
Wiſh him ten Fathom deep: This Duke as much
They love and doat on, call him bounteous *Buckingham*,
The Mirror of all Courteſy.

SCENE II.

Enter Buckingham *from his Arraignment. Tipſtaves before him, the Axe with the Edge towards him, Halberds on each Side, accompanied with Sir* Thomas Lovell, *Sir* Nicholas Vaux, Walter Sands, *and common People, &c.*

1 *Gen.* Stay there, Sir,
And ſee the noble ruin'd Man, you ſpeak of. 2 *Gen.*

But

deſired the People, as he paſſed on, to pray for him. *Grafton* ſays, "Some wept, lamented, and ſaid, *This* "*is the End of evil Life; it is pity he behaved ſo againſt* "*his King and Sovereign, whom God preſerve.* And, "about four of the Clock, he was brought as a *caſt* "*Man* to the Tower."

On *Friday*, the 13th of *May*, about 11 of the Clock, he was delivered to *John Kyeme* and *John Skewington*, Sheriffs of *London*, who conducted him to a Scaffold on *Tower-hill*; where he made a Speech, importing, *That he had offended the King through Negligence and lack of Grace; that he deſired all Noblemen to beware by him, and all Men to pray for him; and that he truſted*

2 *Gen.* Let's ſtand cloſe, and behold him.
Buck. "All good People,
"You that thus far have come to pity me,
"Hear what I ſay, and then go Home and loſe me:
"I have this Day receiv'd a Traitor's Judgment,
"And by that Name muſt die; yet Heaven bear Witneſs,
"And if I have a Conſcience, let it ſink me
"Even as the Axe falls, if I be not faithful.
"To th' Law I bear no Malice for my Death,
"'T has done, upon the Premiſes, but Juſtice:
"But thoſe that ſought it, I could wiſh more Chriſtian;
"Be what they will, I heartily forgive 'em;
"Yet let 'em look they glory not in Miſchief,
"Nor build their Evils on the Graves of great Men;
"For then, my guiltleſs Blood muſt cry againſt 'em.
"For further Life in this World I ne'er hope,
"Nor will I ſue, although the King have Mercies
"More than I dare make Faults. You few that lov'd me,
"And dare be bold to weep for *Buckingham*,
"His noble, Friends and Fellows, whom to leave
"Is only bitter to him, only dying;
"Go with me like good Angels to my End,
"And as the long Divorce of Steel falls on me,
"Make of your Prayers one ſweet Sacrifice,
"And lift my Soul to Heav'n. Lead on, a God's Name."
Lov. I do beſeech your Grace for Charity,
If ever any Malice in your Heart
Were hid againſt me, now forgive me frankly.
Buck. "Sir *Thomas Lovell*, I as freely forgive you
"As I would be forgiven: I forgive all,
"There cannot be thoſe numberleſs Offences "'Gainſt

" *truſted to die the King's true Man.*" Then was beheaded, inſtead of being hanged, which was all the Favour the Duke obtained. As ſoon as the Execution was over, the *Auguſtin Friars* took the Body and Head, and buried them.

Sundry having cenſured the Cardinal in this Affair, Dr. *Fiddes* thought it proper to give us the following Defence: "If the Duke was really guilty, wherein " did *Wolſey* do amiſs? Was it in endeavouring to " deteſt and bring to condign Puniſhment a Perſon " guilty of High Treaſon? Did he not thereby act " conſiſtent with the Duty of his Office as Prime Miniſter?

" 'Gainſt me, I can't take Peace with: No black Envy
" Shall make my Grave——Commend me to his Grace:
" And if he ſpeak of *Buckingham*, pray tell him,
" You met him half in Heaven: My Vows and Pray'rs
" Yet are the King's; and, 'till my Soul forſake me,
" Shall cry for Bleſſings on him. May he live
" Longer than I have Time to tell his Years;
" Ever belov'd and loving may his Rule be;
" And, when old Time ſhall lead him to his End,
" Goodneſs and he fill up one Monument."

Lov. To th' Water-ſide I muſt conduct your Grace,
Then give my Charge up to Sir *Nicholas Vaux*,
Who undertakes you to your End.

Vaux. Prepare there,
The Duke is coming: See the Barge be ready,
And fit it with ſuch Furniture as ſuits
The Greatneſs of his Perſon.

Buck. Nay, Sir *Nicholas*,
Let it alone; my State now will but mock me.
When I came hither, I was Lord High Conſtable,
And Duke of *Buckingham*; now poor *Edmund Bohun*,
Yet I am richer than my baſe Accuſers,
That never knew what Truth meant: I now ſeal it;
And with that Blood will make 'em one Day groan for't.
My noble Father, *Henry* of *Buckingham*,
Who firſt rais'd Head againſt uſurping *Richard*,
Flying for Succour to his Servant *Baniſter*,
Being diſtreſs'd, was by that Wretch betray'd,
And without Trial fell; God's Peace be with him!
Henry the Seventh ſucceeding, truly pitying
My Father's Loſs, like a moſt royal Prince,

" niſter? If he had neglected ſo to do, would he not " have been highly criminal? For the Lords, who " judged him, unanimouſly condemned him, and " among the reſt the Duke of *Norfolk*, notwithſtand- " ing his ſhedding Tears when he paſſed Sentence; " ſo that it ſeems more reaſonable, that the Cardi- " nal's Memory ſhould be vindicated from any un- " juſt Imputation on that Account.

" Can any one imagine, that the Peers of *England* " (and among the reſt the Duke of *Norfolk*, his near " Relation by Marriage *) would in their judicial Ca- " pacity, contrary to the Engagements of their Duty " and Honour, have found an innocent Perſon guilty, " and eſpecially one of their own Members, and that " only to gratify the Reſentment of a private Perſon."

To ſum up theſe Obſervations, 'tis agreed, that the Duke

Reſtor'd to me my Honours; and, from Ruins,
Made my Name once more noble. Now his Son
Henry the Eighth, Name, Honour, Life, and all
That made me Happy, at one Stroak has taken
For ever from the World. I had my Trial,
And, muſt needs ſay, a noble one; which makes me
A little happier than my wretched Father:
Yet thus far we are one in Fortune, both
Fell by our Servants, by thoſe Men we lov'd.
A moſt unnatural and faithleſs Service!
Heav'n has an End in all: Yet, you that hear me,
This from a dying Man receive as certain:
Where you are lib'ral of your Loves and Counſels,
Be ſure you be not looſe; thoſe you make Friends,
And give your Hearts to, when they once perceive
The leaſt Rub in your Fortunes, fall away
Like Water from ye, never found again,
But where they mean to ſink ye. *All good People*
Pray for me! I muſt leave ye, the laſt Hour
Of my long weary Life is come upon me:
Farewell: and when you would ſay ſomething ſad,
Speak how I fell——I've done; and God forgive me.

[*Exeunt* Buckingham *and Train.*

* The Earl of *Surry*, the the Duke of *Buckingham*'s Duke of *Norfolk*'s Son, married Daughter.

Duke had ſeveral valuable Qualities, but was much given to Superſtition. Others inſinuate that even when a Child, he went too fine in his Apparel, and made Entertainments ſo ſumptuous, that it exaſperated the King, he ſeeming in thoſe Matters even to vie with his Majeſty; and, having imbibed ſuch aſpiring Notions when in his Minority, as he grew up he was yet more ambitious, and became negligent in his Duty and Service to the King. 'Tis evident this Proſecution was afterwards approved of; for the Parliament paſſed an Act to attaint the Duke * of *High Treaſon.*

On the 8th of *June* ſeveral Lords and Gentlemen aſſembled at *Windſor* to degrade the Duke, by removing the Trophies belonging to the Order of the Garter, which was done after the following Manner.

Somerſet Herald, being behind the Hatchment of the

* The Duke was deſcended in a direct Line from *Robert Du Stafford*, to whom *William the Conqueror* gave large Revenues, which his Poſterity greatly encreaſed, by marrying the Heirs Female of ſeveral Noble Families. By the Lady *Anne*, Daughter of *Thomas de Woodſtock*, Duke of *Glouceſter*, Brother to *Edward* the IIId, he participated of the Blood Royal. The firſt Title of the Family was Lord *Stafford*, then Earl, and afterwards Duke of *Buckingham*. As to this Duke 'tis plain he hated the Cardinal; and ſome report, "That the "Quarrel firſt begun from the "Cardinal's preſuming to dip "his Hands into the Baſon, "when the Duke was holding "it to the King, while he "waſhed his Hands, which ſo "provoked the Duke, that he "threw the Water into the Car-"dinal's Shoes; *for which* the "Cardinal told him, *he would* "*ſtick in his Skirts.* The next "Day the Duke coming to "Court without Skirts, the King "aſked the Duke, *What he meant* "*by that Dreſs?* The Duke re-"plied, *In order to prevent the* "*Cardinal's ſticking in my Skirts.*" The Duke had Iſſue *Henry Stafford*, who was afterwards reſtored in Blood, but was admitted only to the Barony of *Stafford*. He left a Grandſon, *Henry* Baron *Stafford*, who died without Iſſue Male, having only one Daughter, named *Mary*, who married Sir *William Howard*, and were, by King *Charles* the Iſt, inveſted Baron and Baroneſs of *Stafford*; and ſoon after he was created Viſcount *Stafford*. Then he travelled to *Rome*, and was in the publick Entry made there in the Year 1675, by his Nephew, *Philip Howard*, on his being created Cardinal. In 1678 he was accuſ-

the ſaid Duke, when the Peers entered *St. George*'s Chapel, he pronounced the following Words, *Expelled and put from the Arms.* Then the Herald with Force threw down, into the Choir of the Chapel, the Duke's Creſt, his Banner and Sword. That being done, the Officers at Arms ſpurned the Duke's Hatchment with their Feet out of the Choir into the Body of the Church; firſt the Sword from the Banner, then the Creſt out of the Weſt Door of the Church to the Bridge, and then into the Ditch.

With the Death of the Duke of *Buckingham* ended the Title of *Lord High Conſtable*,* and the *Engliſh Hof-*

ed. by the Arch-evidence, *Titus Oats*, of High Treaſon; who ſurrendered in two Days after he was ſent for, which, conſidering the Violence of the Times, was thought a Sign of Innocence: Yet he was afterwards impeached in Parliament and tried, where 55 of his Peers pronounced him guilty, and 31 not guilty; and ſoon after his Conviction he was beheaded. It is related, "That, "when this unhappy Peer was "brought on the Scaffold to be "executed, the Noiſe was ſo "great, that his Lordſhip was "interrupted in his Devotion; "upon which he deſired one of "the Sheriffs to command Si-"lence;" who anſwered, *That he could not comply with his Lordſhip's Requeſt, for that his Orders were to ſtop no Man's Breath but his.*

In 1685 an Act paſſed to reverſe the Attainder of this Lord, and his Son *Henry* was, by King *James* the IId, created Earl of *Stafford*, who, dying without Iſſue Male, was ſucceeded in his Honour and Eſtate, by *William Stafford Howard*, Eſq; (Son of his Brother *John Stafford*) who, dying in *France*, in *January*, 1734, was ſucceeded by his only Son, the Right Honourable *William*, the preſent Earl of *Stafford*.

* The *Lord High Conſtable* with the Earl Marſhal of *England* were formerly Judges of the *Court of Chivalry*, called, in *Henry* the VIIth's Time, *Curia Militaris*, and now the *Court of Honour*. 'Tis the Fountain of the *Martial* Law, and antiently was holden in the King's Hall.

The Office of *Conſtable* was a Poſt before the Conqueſt, and by Inheritance it was adjudged to be lawfully deſcended to the Duke of *Buckingham*, who by his Attainder forfeited this great Office to the Crown; which on Account of its extenſive Power and Dignity both in time of Peace and War, was never afterwards granted to any Perſon, otherwiſe than *pro hâc vice*, to attend at a Coronation, or Trial by Combat; and the laſt that officiated was his Grace *Charles* D. of *Richmond*, at the Coronation of his preſent Majeſty K. *George* the IId.

Hoſpitality in good Houſe-keeping. Great Lamentations were made among the Common People for his Death.

Lord *Herbert* obſerves, "That the Tragedy ended "not ſo, for that *George* Lord *Abergavenny* was im- "priſoned, but, thro' the King's Favour he was, af- "ter a few Months Impriſonment, ſet at Liberty; "that *Hopkins*, who had been the Author of ſo much "Miſchief, after a ſerious Repentance, died of Grief."

The Cardinal continued to execute his high Office of Chancellor with ſuch Care and Aſſiduity, that Bills of Complaint were preferred to him without Number, inſomuch that, as he had ſo many Offices to execute, it was impoſſible for him to conſider the Caſes and Petitions that came to him from all Quarters; therefore, by Virtue of the King's Commiſſion, he delegated ſeveral others to hear Cauſes, and receive Complaints in his Abſence. But theſe Commiſſioners, not anſwering the End for which they were deſigned, and the People not finding the ſpeedy Relief they expected, they were glad at laſt to let Matters run in the old Channel, and to have recourſe (where they apprehended themſelves to be aggrieved) to the *Common Law*.

The Cardinal made Abbot of St. Albans.

His Majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed to preſent the Cardinal with the rich Abbey of *St. Albans*; but the Writers differ very much as to the Time it was beſtowed upon him: However, it appears plainly he ſucceeded Abbot *Thomas Ramrigge*, who was alive in the Year 1514, and poſſeſſed of the Abbacy; but when *Ramrigge* died we cannot diſcover; though ſome judge *Wolſey* came into it in the Year 1516. Suppoſe that to have been the Caſe, he had not the Temporalities veſted in him till the 7th of *Dec.* 1521, as the Patent ſhews: Therefore we are apt to think thoſe who have ſaid, "he was deprived of his Abbacy by Premunire,"

were

were miſtaken; for in a Manuſcript of St. *Albans*, in the Archdeacon's Office of Inſtitutions, we find one *William Wakefield* inducted the 9th of *Sept.* 1530, into the Vicarage of *St. Peter's*, in the Town of *St. Albans*, by the Cardinal's Licence and Authority, and this was not long before his Death.

The Cardinal's Care of York City.

Notwithſtanding the great Affairs of the State in which the Cardinal was engaged, they did not hinder him from being ready to aſſiſt thoſe who had any relation to him either in his Spiritual or Temporal Capacity; and this he did by ſhewing a particular Favour to the City of *York*,* whereof he was Archbiſhop, by taking care of and encouraging their *Trade* and *Commerce*, which was ſo highly pleaſing to that antient City, that they acknowledged it on all Occaſions, and more particularly in the following Letter.

To the moſt Rev. Father in God, and their moſt ſingular good and gracious Lord, the Lord Legate, his Grace, Chancellor of England.

" MOST Reverend Father in God, and our " moſt ſingular good and gracious Lord, in " our moſt humble Manner, with due Reverence, " we commend us unto your Grace, and like ſo " thank your Grace of your moſt gracious Kindneſs " and Goodneſs of late ſhewed unto us, as touching " the *miniſhing of our Fee Farm* againſt the Lord " of *Rutland*, wherein we think that your Grace was " a very good and gracious Lord unto us, and in all " other

* *York* is the ſecond City of *England*, and an Archbiſhoprick; is watered by the River *Ouſe*, which divides it into two Parts, whereof the Eaſt is the Chief, and has many beautiful Buildings, a good Wall, and more than 30 Pariſh Churches, beſides a grand Cathedral: (See a View of it, Vol. II. Fol. 237.) The Mayor is honoured with the Stile of Lord, and it has given the Title of Duke to ſeveral Princes of the Royal Blood. See the learned Mr. *Drake's Antiquities* of this noble and ancient City.

" other Cauſes and Buſineſſes concerning the Com-
" monweal of the King's Grace; and your Grace's
" *poor* City of *York*, beſeeching your ſaid Grace, of
" Continuance and for the tender Zeal and Favour,
" that your ſaid Grace hath ever borne to the In-
" creaſe of the *poor* Citizens of the ſaid City, that
" pleaſed your Grace to obtain the King's moſt gra-
" cious Letters Patent, under his Grace's Broad
" Seal, whereby we and they of late ſhipped both
" *Wool* and *Fell*; likewiſe, as the Inhabitants of the
" Town of *Newcaſtle* now doth, and by Reaſon thereof
" the ſaid Citizens did daily increaſe in getting of
" Goods, as long as they continued ſuch Shipping;
" the which Grant, ſo obtained by your Grace was
" the higheſt and moſt eſpecial Commodity and
" Jewel, that ever came to the aforeſaid City, for
" the Preferment and the Enriching of the Citizens
" thereof; and alſo great Refreſhing to all the Coun-
" try about the ſame: Albeit, that that was other-
" wiſe reported, by certain Perſons that did murmur
" and grudge with your gracious good Act, and
" Welfare of their *poor* Neighbours. And at ſuch
" Time as we did uſe and exerciſe the Shipping of
" the ſaid *Wool* and *Fells*, by vertue of the ſaid
" Grant, then we were ſo glad thereof, that we did
" little regard our old Commodity in buying of *Lead*.
" And at that Time the rich Merchants of *London*
" got the Trade of *Lead* as we had before; and
" ſo ſince that Time they have had the Trade and
" moſt Part thereof in their Hands, and hath en-
" hanced that to ſo high a Price, that we can get
" but little of that. Wherefore, moſt gracious Lord,
" the Premiſes conſidered, we beſeech your Grace,
" in our moſt humble Manner, that we may have
" and continue the Shipping of the ſaid *Wool* and
" *Fell*, according to the King's Grant, and alſo free
" Paſſage beyond the Sea, with the little Subſtance
" of *Lead* that we have now ready to be ſhipped:

" Not-

" Notwithſtanding the Reſtraint thereof made to the " contrary, or elſe we are like to be *utterly undone*, " being *poor* Men, as knoweth the bleſſed *Trinity*, " who ever more continue your Grace in Honour. " At the City of *York*, under the Seal of Office " of the Mayoralty of the ſame, the 24th Day of " *June*."

" *By your Grace's moſt bound and daily* Bede-men, " *the Mayor of the City of* York, *and his Bre-* " *thren Aldermen of the ſame.*

No ſooner did the Cardinal receive this Letter, but he obtained for the Citizens of *York* * what they requeſted, which was received and acknowledged with great Reſpect by the Citizens in general.

Biſhop Atwater's *Death, and Dr.* Longland's *Preferment.*

On the 20th of *February*, Dr. *William Atwater*, Biſhop of *Lincoln*, died, and was buried at the Weſt End of *Lincoln* Cathedral. He was ſucceeded in the Biſhoprick by Dr. *John Longland*, through the Recommendation of Cardinal *Wolſey*, who was conſecrated on the 5th of *May* following. Before this Preferment he was Confeſſor to the King, and was greatly entruſted with ſeveral Affairs of Importance, and held this See to the Year 1547.

Biſhop Gigles's *Death.*

Silveſter Gigles, an *Italian*, and Biſhop of *Worceſter*, died at *Rome*, the 16th of *April*; and was ſucceeded as Adminiſtrator of this Biſhoprick by Cardinal *Medicis*, the Pope's Nephew, who held it to the Year 1522, and then he reſigned it. Whereupon *Hieronimus de Nugutijo*, another *Italian*, obtained this See; and enjoyed it many Years after Cardinal *Wolſey*'s Death.

Cardinal Medicis, *Biſhop of* Worceſter.

The

* His Favours ſeem to have had a good Tendency, it having been a thriving City ever ſince; and, from being *poor* and *undone* (as the foregoing Letter expreſſes) are become *rich* and *populous*.

The laſt Year the Affairs of *Europe* held a very favourable Aſpect, and the different Princes ſeemed rather inclined to Peace than War: Yet this Year was no ſooner begun, but Things bore a very different Face; for *Francis* * the Iſt, King of *France*, now began to vent his Spleen, which he had for ſome time har-

Reflection upon the Affairs of Europe. 1521.

* *France* has of late been one of the moſt potent Kingdoms in *Europe*, and the moſt difficult to limit; daily, like the Ocean, having gained from its Neighbours, whoſe divided Strength was ſcarce, for a Time, equal to her united Forces. On the Eaſt it is bounded by the *Alps*, (which divide *Dauphiny* from *Piedmont*) *Savoy*, *Switzerland*, and *Germany*; on the North with the *Netherlands* and the *Britiſh* Seas; on the Weſt by the *Aquitain* Ocean; and on the South by *Spain*, from which it is divided by the *Pyrenean* Hills and the *Mediterranean*. In Length about 660 *Italian* Miles; in Breadth 570; the whole Circumference 2040. *Lewis* the XIVth ſpared neither Blood nor Treaſure, Arts nor Labour to extend his Dominions; and perhaps, if he had not been over-reached by the *Jeſuits*, he would have ſucceeded in his Deſign of uniting by Force all his Subjects in one Religion. He took in *Artois*, the greateſt Part of *Flanders* and *Hanault*. Of the four Ports that belonged to *Flanders* he took two, *Graveling* and *Dunkirk*: So that theſe Dominions extend on the Sea-ſhore from *Dunkirk* to *St. John de Luz* in *Spain*, without any Interruption. On the Eaſtern Side *Burgundy*, *Alſace*, and the Dutchy of *Lorrain* has been lately added. In ſhort, that Monarch had great Deſigns on the Side of *Switzerland*, nor did *Savoy* paſs without contributing her Share towards aggrandizing him. On the South he gained, from *Spain*, *Rouſſilon* and *Conflans*; but *Catalonia*, after a long and bloody Struggle, miſſed him. All the World may remember how narrowly the *United Provinces* eſcaped him in 1673 and 1674. He was not only a Gainer by the Wars, but ſo even in Times of Peace, by his Courts of Dependencies, Fotts, and other Methods: So that, conſidering the Weakneſs and Diviſions of his Neighbours, and the great Acquiſitions he had made, if ſo many thouſands of his Subjects had not been deſtroyed in the glorious Queen *Anne*'s War, conducted by the ever to be renowned Generals, the Duke of *Marlborough* and Prince *Eugene*, who could have told what this great Prince might not have effected before his Death? This vaſt Kingdom is divided into ſixty Counties, and theſe into Provinces; the *Iſle* of *France*, *Burgundy*, *Normandy*, *Aquitain*, *Bretagne*, *Champagne*, *Languedoc*, *Provence*, *Piccardy*, *Dauphiny*, *Lyoneſe*, *Orleans*, and *Toulouſe*.

harboured againſt the Emperor; firſt by exciting *Robert de la March*, Earl of *Aremberg*, in an underhand Manner, to take up Arms againſt him, who was alſo diſguſted with *Charles* the Vth, on Account of a Caſtle he had been at Law about, and which had been adjudged to his Adverſary, who had taken Poſſeſſion of it. Hereupon *Aremberg* withdraws into *France*, and raiſed Forces to recover the Caſtle; but his Army was ſo numerous, that it plainly appeared they could not be maintained by him; ſo that it was rightly conjectured the King of *France* aſſiſted him. With theſe Forces *Aremberg* returned to his Caſtle; which the Emperor hearing of, he ſent the Earl of *Naſſau* againſt him, who drove him out of the *Low Countries*; and Complaint was made at the ſame time to *Francis*, with reſpect to his favouring *Aremberg*; wherein it was repreſented, that it was contrary to the Treaty of *Noyon*; which *Francis* denied. But the Maſk was ſoon after taken off; for the Duke of *Bourbon*, his General, acted offenſively by his Maſter's Orders, and began with attacking ſeveral Towns in the *Low Countries*, which he took.

War in Navarre. 1521.

Thus a new War begun; but *Francis* quickly found, that he ſhould make but little of carrying it on in the *Low Countries*; ſo that he thought proper to turn Part of his Forces another Way, and try his Fortune on the Side of *Spain*, where the Rebellion was ſtill ſubſiſting; and accordingly ſent Monſ. *Leſparre*,* Brother to the Marſhals *Lautrec* and *Leſcut*, of the Houſe of *Foix*, to the Aſſiſtance of *Henry d'Albert*, the rightful King of *Navarre*, with an Army of 12,000 Foot and 800 Men at

* This General's Name was *Andrew de Foix*, who with his two Brothers had their Riſe from their Siſter, the Counteſs of *Chateau Brian*, who was the firſt Object of *Francis* the Iſt's Affections. She was the Daughter of *Phœbus de Grailly*, a Prince of the Houſe of *Foix*; a Perſon who had all the Graces, both of Body and Mind, that could cauſe a Woman to be beloved.

Count *Brian* fought her in Marriage, when ſhe was but 12 Years of

at Arms. The Time that the King granted this Aid to *Albert* was very ſeaſonable, by reaſon that *Navarre* was then

of Age, and obtained his Deſire, becauſe he required no Fortune with her. He had early a Daughter by her, and wanted nothing to complete his Happineſs, could he have kept his Treaſure ſtill hid, which he had concealed ſo long in a Corner of *Britanny*: But Fame is as inſeparable from a diſtinguiſhed and unparallelled Beauty, as the Shadow is from the Subſtance. The King was over-ruled by his Inclination, or by the Counteſs his Mother, to permit the introducing Ladies to Court, who never had appeared there before, but upon ſome extraordinary Ceremonies; and among others the Count's Lady was one, where the King, on ſeeing her, was ſo exceedingly enamoured, that he could not ſtifle his Paſſion; and ſhe, in her Turn, became his greateſt Favourite, and continued ſo for a conſiderable Time. She might have advanced her Huſband to the chief Employments in the Kingdom, had he been of Humour to prefer Ambition to Honour; but he firmly refuſed whatever he ſuppoſed was offered him for his Wife's Sake, after ſhe had become the King's Miſtreſs.

When the Counteſs ſaw that her Huſband withſtood, with ſo much Obſtinacy, whatever ſhe did to advance his Fortune, ſhe bethought herſelf of promoting her Brothers, who were as ſtout as ſhe was fair. She cauſed the Government of the *Milaneſe* to be conferred on *Lautrec*, one of her Brothers, of whom *Brantom* ſays, "That Monſieur *Lautrec*, "Couſin to Monſieur *Nemours*, "conducted the Cardinals, Prelates and Biſhops, by Land, to "the Council of *Piſa*, leſt they "ſhould be intercepted by Sea, "under a Guard of 300 Lance-"Men and ſome Foot; which "was the firſt Commiſſion he "had. His Name was *Odet de* "*Foix*, known alſo by that of "*Barbazan*, and Viſcount *Lau-*"*trec*. The Pope's Partiſans "and the *Spaniards* made them-"ſelves merry at his Expence, "on this Occaſion; and divert-"ed themſelves by calling him, "*The Eſcorte and Body-guard of* "*the rebellious Cardinals*. The "Marquis *Albert* of *Brandem-*"*burgh*, that great Perſecutor of "Biſhops and Churchmen, be-"ſtowed his Epithets alſo on "him for this Expedition, and "called him *The Prieſts Valet*; "tho' afterwards he deſervedly "gained the Name of a *Great* "*Captain*."

The Counteſs then perſuaded *Leſcut*, her youngeſt Brother, who was Biſhop of *Aix*, to quit his Caſſack, for whom ſhe quickly obtained a conſiderable Employment.

As to the Third you have already heard how he was diſpoſed of; ſo that, thro' this Lady's Means, theſe Gentlemen were advanced to the moſt conſiderable Poſts in the Kingdom of *France*. Thus captivating and prevalent are the Charms of the Fair: But then, where is *Conſcience?* Where is *Honour?* Where is *Chaſtity?* Where is *Conjugal Fidelity?*

then left naked, the Vice-roy having ſent away Part of his Forces, and ſeveral Pieces of Cannon to the Governors of *Caſtile*, who were engaged againſt the Rebels. *Leſparre* with his Army entered *Navarre*, and in 15 Days made himſelf Maſter of the Kingdom; all Places ſurrendering on his Approach, except only the Fortreſs of *Maya*, which he never was poſſeſſed of: And, upon this Revolution, *Henry d'Albert* took Poſſeſſion of his Kingdom, as of Right belonging to him. But *Leſparre* (tho' he had given out at firſt, that his Deſign was only to reſtore *Henry d'Albert*) ſtopped not there, but went on and laid Siege to the Town of *Logronno* in *Caſtile*. The Governor whereof got into the Place with a few Soldiers, and the Townſmen took up Arms and aſſiſted; ſo that it made a good Defence, and baffled all the Attempts of the whole *French* Army.

In the mean while the Troubles in *Caſtile* were compromiſed, which the *French* General hearing of, and that a *Spaniſh* Army was marching to the Relief of the Place, he thought proper to raiſe the Siege, and retire: But the *Spaniards* purſued them ſo cloſe, that as the one left the Quarters, the other took them up; and ſoon after the two Armies were within a League of each other near *Pampulona*. Here *Leſparre* reſolved on giving the Enemy Battle, which ended in the total Defeat of the *French* Army, and the killing of no leſs than 6000 of them, with *Leſparre* their General; and all their Artillery was taken: And thus we find that Valour and Diſaſter are pretty conſtant Companions to a brave Captain, who had performed Wonders in a ſhort Time!

Michael de Perea, a young Gentleman, was in this bloody Battle, who ruſhed into the thickeſt of the *French* Army, and brought the Royal Standard with him, which the Emperor afterwards added to his Paternal Coat of Arms. It was fought on the 30th of *June*, and thereon

on the *Spaniards* recovered the Kingdom of *Navarre* with as little Oppoſition as it had been loſt; only *St. John del Pie de Port* held out twenty Days, when it was taken by Storm, many of the Garriſon put to the Sword, and the Governor hanged, becauſe he deſerted from the *Spaniſh* Service.

On this great Conqueſt, the Earl of *Miranda* was made Vice-roy of *Navarre*, with whom was left a ſufficient Force to ſecure the Country. The unfortunate King *Henry d'Albert* retreated to *Paris*, whither he carried the unwelcome News of what had paſſed in *Navarre*.

By theſe haſty Steps *Francis* fully diſcovered, to the whole World, what he would be at.

Charles the Vth, Emperor of *Germany*, * by Virtue

* *Germany*, is one of the largeſt Countries in *Europe*, and the Mother of thoſe Nations, which, in the Fall of the *Roman* Empire, conquerred all the reſt. At preſent it is bounded on the North by the *Baltick* Sea and *Scotland*; on the Eaſt by *Hungary*, *Pruſſia*, and *Superior Poland*; on the South by the *Alps*, which part it from *Italy*; on the Weſt by *France*, the *German* Ocean, the *Netherlands*, and *Switzerland*.

Weſt-friezeland, *Guelderland*, *Over-yſſell*, and *Groningen* were heretofore Parts of *Germany*, which now belong to the *United Provinces*. On the other Side, *Cleves*, *Juliers*, *Liege*, the Biſhopricks of *Cologn*, *Treves*, a great Part of the *Palatinate*, of the *Rhine* and *Switzerland*, formerly belonged to *Gaul*, now called *France*, but of Right at preſent are Parts of *Germany*. The *French* have taken *Alſatia* from it, and *Lorrain* has been very lately yielded to them. *Switzerland* ſome Ages ſince was cantoned into ſmall Common-wealths, who do not acknowledge the Emperor of *Germany* for their Sovereign. As for *Denmark*, *Poland*, and *Hungary*, they have their diſtinct Kings, and are by no means Parts of *Germany*. It is in Length from the Borders of the Dutchy of *Lorrain* to thoſe of *Hungary* 120 *German* Miles; in Breadth, from the *Baltick* to the *Alps*, which incloſe *Friuli*, 126. This vaſt Track of Land is uſually divided into ten *Circles*, *viz. Franconia*, *Bavaria*, *Auſtria*, *Swabia*, the *Upper* and *Lower* Circle of the *Rhine*, *Weſtphalia*, the *Upper* and *Lower Saxony*, and *Burgundy*: But this laſt has no Vote in the Diet, nor contributes any Thing to the Charges of the Empire. The Emperor of *Germany* is not only the Head of *Germany*, but the firſt Prince in *Chriſtendom* in Rank and Order, though not the moſt powerful.

tue of the League concluded at *London*, ſent to King *Henry*, to demand Aſſiſtance againſt the *French* King, and at the ſame Time uſed his utmoſt Diligence both in *Germany* and *Flanders*, to raiſe Forces ſufficient to oppoſe the *French*, and puniſh the Affront put upon him by *de la March*,* Earl of *Aremberg*, who immediately made his Submiſſion, before Matters were carried to Extremity, on which the Emperor pardoned him. However, his Imperial Majeſty continued to encreaſe his Army in the Neighbourhood of *Champaign*, deſigning to fall on the *French* on that Side.

Henry, King of *England*, ſent an Ambaſſador to King *Francis*, to lay before him what was requeſted by the Emperor, and, if poſſible, to find out ſome Expe-

* *Robert* Earl of *Aremberg* was a valiant Captain, and, in his early Years, was called the *Wild Boar*, in Alluſion to the Ravages he committed in the Emperor's Territories, and on other Neighbours. He was the firſt Cauſe of the War between the Emperor and *Francis* the Iſt, who had taken him into his Protection.

This brave Commander ſhewed an Inſtance of extraordinary Courage at the Battle of *Novara*, in relieving his two Sons, who lay wounded in the Field, ready to give up their laſt Breath, whom he diſengaged from the Enemy, and carried into a Place of Safety. Like Father, like Sons indeed! (See Vol. II. fol. 163.)

From this noble Earl, it ſeems, the preſent Duke of *Aremberg*, General of the *Auſtrian* Forces, (joined with thoſe of *Great-Britain* and *Hanover*) is deſcended, who has added new Lawrels to his Illuſtrious Family, in the Battle at *Dettingen*, upon the *Maine* in *Germany*, between the Allied Army, and the *French*, who were commanded by that great General Marſhal *de Noailles*.

But the *Allies* were, after the noble Example of ſome of the greateſt Monarchs, and ſeveral of his moſt glorious Anceſtors, commanded by his Majeſty King GEORGE, to the no ſmall Encouragement of his brave Generals and Troops, and, according to all Accounts, with the utmoſt Danger of his ſacred Perſon, which he has not thought too dear to be ventured for the great Cauſe of *Liberty*, he is in purſuit of.

His Royal Highneſs the Duke of *Cumberland* alſo behaved, like an old Soldier, with great Courage and Bravery, and received a Wound in his Leg.

The Battle was fought on *June* 16, 1743, which began at 10 in the Morning, and laſted till 4 in the Afternoon, with great Obſtinacy on both Sides; but the *Allies* beat the *French* out of the Field, who loſt above 8000 Men.

Expedient to compoſe the Differences, that had ariſen.

The *French* King, endeavouring to excuſe what he had been doing, alledged, it was only to prevent the Emperor's falling upon him in his own Territories, who had threatened to attack him on all Sides; and declared, he was ready to commit the Settlement of the Troubles to his Majeſty of *England*.*

This Propoſal both *Charles* and *Francis* readily accepted of: And it was agreed, that their Plenipotentiaries, with the Pope's Nuncio and the Cardinal Mediator, ſhould meet at *Calais* on the 4th of *Auguſt*; but a Truce between the Parties at War was attended with ſo many Difficulties, that it did not take Place; however, *Henry* ſent his Prime Miniſter to *Calais*, in hopes of compoſing the Miſunderſtanding.

It is extremely odd, that *Rapin* ſhould on this Occaſion ſay, "That *Henry*, prepoſſeſſed by the Car-"dinal, was glad of a Pretence to throw the Blame "of a Rupture upon the *French* King:" Whereas it appears by his own ſhewing, "That the *French* "King was actually the firſt Aggreſſor."

Wolſey attends the Queen to Cambridge.

The Time for Cardinal *Wolſey*'s ſetting out for *Calais* not being come, he took the Opportunity of paying a ſecond Viſit to the Univerſity of *Cambridge*: To which Place he had the Honour to attend her Majeſty, who had often expreſſed her Deſire of ſeeing that famous Uni-

* *England* is the greateſt, the moſt *Southern*, and the beſt Part of the Iſland of *Great Britain*, called heretofore *Albion*, *Britannica*, and *Britain*. This fine Iſland is divided into three Parts, *Scotland*, *Wales*, and *England*. *England* has *Scotland* on the North; the *Iriſh* Sea in Part, *Wales* in Part, and then the *Iriſh* Sea again on the Weſt; the *Britiſh* Sea on the South, and the *German* Sea on the Eaſt. It lies, together with *Wales*, in the Form of a Triangle, whereof the Southern Shore is the Baſe, and *Berwick* the oppoſite Angle. It was divided by the *Romans* into five Parts, by the *Saxons* into ſeven Kingdoms, and now parted into forty one Shires; and they are really beautiful and fertile.

Univerſity, as well as that of *Oxford*, which ſhe had already viſited: And, as ſhe was a Princeſs of great Learning, and well verſed in divers Languages, ſhe ſpent ſeveral Hours in the different Schools. Her gracious Behaviour drew on her the Admiration of all that learned Body, who were no leſs charmed with her affable and generous Treatment; and even vied with each other in their Expreſſions of Gratitude to this noble Princeſs. And her Majeſty, on her Part, was ſo highly delighted with the Reſpect ſhewn her, both in publick and private, during her Stay at *Cambridge*, that, at parting, ſhe aſſured them, that ſhe would not omit any Opportunity of doing the Univerſity and every Member thereof all the Service in her Power.

Then the Queen returned to Court, attended by the Cardinal and their ſplendid Retinues.

Wolſey ſets out for Calais.

The Time for *Wolſey*'s repairing to *Calais* approaching, and he appointed, by ſpecial Commiſſion, the King's Lieutenant, he took Leave of his Maſter, and proceeded through *London* in great State, the Great Seal being carried before him, and attended by *Charles* E. of *Worceſter*; the Lords *St. John*, *Ferrers*, and *Herbert*; the Biſhops of *Durham* and *Ely*, and the Primate of *Armagh*; Sir *Thomas Bulleyn*, afterwards Earl of *Wiltſhire*, Father to *Anna Bulleyn*; Sir *John Peachey*, Sir *John Huſſey*, Sir *Edward Guilford*, and many other Gentlemen, beſides a very large Train of Servants.

He reached *Dover* on the 8th of *July*, and on the 10th arrived at *Calais*: And his Inſtructions were,

1*ſt*, To adjuſt, as Mediator, the Difference between the Emperor and the King of *France*.

2*d*, To treat and conclude with *Francis* a Renewal of the Alliance.

3*d*, To conclude a League between *France* and the Emperor, the Pope and the King of *France*, or any other Potentates requeſting the ſame. *Rapin* remarks,

" *Henry*,

" *Henry*, without having examined on which Side the " Blame lay, left to his Lieutenant to engage him in " which Party he pleaſed. But *very likely* his Reſolu- " tion had been taken already, and the Congreſs of " *Calais* intended only to ſhew he was *not reſolved*, till " after a ſtrict Information, and to cauſe the Blame of " the Rupture to be thrown on the King of *France*. " All the Proceedings of the Cardinal Mediator *diſco-* " *vered*, that he meant *not* to procure a Peace between " the two Monarchs, but only to find the King his " Maſter a Pretence to declare for the Emperor." But it is more likely, and wants leſs Diſcovery to ſhew, that *Rapin*'s Deſigns were no other than to render *Wolſey* as odious as poſſible.

Whilſt the Cardinal was at *Calais* he neglected nothing that might advance the Commerce of his native Country, and from Time to Time tranſmitted Advice to the King of the Progreſs he had made in his Commiſſions. From hence, and many more Inſtances, it appears, that no Affair of Conſequence was concluded in *England* without the Cardinal's Approbation; as a Proof hereof ſee the following Letters:

The CARDINAL *to the* KING, *concerning the* French *King and certain Maritime Affairs.*

SIR,

" I Perceived, by ſuch Writings as lately came to " my Hand from your Secretary, that your Grace " hath received three or four Letters from me of ſundry " Dates; and foraſmuch as in ſome of them nothing " was contained except News, it is not thought requi- " ſite any ſpecial Anſwer be made thereunto, but only " your gracious Thanks to me to be given, which *I* " *would be right glad to deſerve* by all the Induſtry, " Labour, and Policy that I can uſe.

" And, Sir, as concerning the News which at that " Time was written by your Ambaſſador, Sir *William* " *Fitz Williams*, touching the Promiſe made by the

" *French* King, on his Honour, that he would give " Battle to the Emperor's Army within a ſhort Time, " I think verily, that your ſaid Ambaſſador, as a *faith-* " *ful Gentleman*, reported no other than the *French* " King ſpake: Howbeit, by the Contents, as well of " ſuch other Letters as I have received this Day, from " your ſaid Ambaſſador, as by the News coming from " the Emperor to his Heir, here incloſed, your Grace " ſhall well perceive, that neither the *French* King is " in ſuch a Readineſs within ſo ſhort a Time to give " Battle, though he promiſed, on his Honour, ſo to " do; nor yet, that the News written on either Party " be ſo true, that firm Credence ought at all Times " to be given unto them. Nevertheleſs, by provident " Foreſight, more Credit is to be given to Writings " of ſuch as moſt commonly make true Reports, " than of others who accuſtomably are uſed to con- " trive News upon untrue Grounds, for the Advance- " ment of their own Affairs; whereunto your Grace, " having good Experience, as well in Times paſt as " now occurrent, can beſt judge; eſpecially when the " Loſs and Damage of the *French* King be by him " cauſeleſs to your Grace arrected; ſo that, I ſuppoſe, " neither this cruel Battle is ſo near at hand, nor " ſuch Reports, tho' they be ſpoken upon his Ho- " nour, be always to be believed.

" Over this, Sir, whereas your Grace, foreſeeing " the Dangers, Damages, Loſſes and Prejudice that " might enſue to *your Navy*, and the Subjects of your " Realm, if in this ſuſpected and caſual Time they " ſhould reſort to *Bourdeaux*, for this Vintage, like as " they have accuſtomably uſed to do heretofore, de- " ſired and commanded me to declare unto you my " *poor Advice and Opinion*, what was moſt expedient " to be done therein, *I calling unto me the whole Num-* " *ber of ſuch your Counſellors as be here with me*, af- " ter long reaſoning and debating of the ſaid Mat- " ter, finally concluded, by *one Aſſent*, that ſuch Re-

" medies

" medies as were expreſſed in my Letter, then to your
" Grace ſent, were the moſt convenable Proviſions to
" remedy the ſaid Danger, Loſs and Damage. And
" ſurely, Sir, if, by *our* Wits and Intendments, better
" Remedies could have been foreſeen, the ſame ſhould
" have been notified and intimated unto you; but in-
" aſmuch as your Grace pondereth the Danger and
" Caſualties, that may enſue by repairing of your Na-
" vy and Subjects to *Bourdeaux*, that you count none
" Aſſurance by Treaties, Placards, Proclamations, or
" Articles, to be confirmed by the Princes on all Par-
" ties, to ſuffice for that Indemnity, and pre-ſuppoſe
" ſuch Writings and Promiſes to be fraudulent and
" evaſive Allectives to bring your ſaid Navy and Sub-
" jects in Danger; thinking alſo, that the ſending of a
" convenient Number of your ſmall Ships to *Bour-*
" *deaux* or *Livorna*, to be given for bringing *Gaſcoign*
" Wines into your Realm, ſhould raiſe a Murmur a-
" mong your Subjects, *&c.*

ANOTHER.

SIR,

" WHEREAS your Grace, moſt prudently and
" providently conſidering the imminent Dan-
" gers that may enſue, as well by taking of your Navy
" and Subjects, with ſuch Goods and Subſtance as they
" have and ſhall bring with them to *Bourdeaux*, if
" they ſhould thither repair this Year for Vintage, as
" they have been heretofore accuſtomably uſed to do, as
" alſo pondering the Suſpicion that might be impreſt
" in the *French* King's Mind, by the abſtaining of
" your ſaid Navy and Subjects from thence, which
" Jealouſy might perchance cauſe him to reſtrain and
" ſtop your Penſion, payable unto you within a ſhort
" Time, Ye not only deſire me maturely to debate,
" and conſider what is beſt to be done therein, but
" alſo to adviſe your Grace with Diligence of my
" *poor Advice and Opinion* upon the ſame, like as in

" your Secretary's Letters, by your Commandments " unto me addreſſed, it is contained more at length.

" Sir, when I groundedly conſidered your provi- " dent Forecaſt, as well for the Conſervation of your " Navy from Damage, as the princely Zeal that ye bear " to preſerve your Subjects and their Goods, with the " ſubſtantial Regard that ye take to your Honour " and Safety, in foreſeeing politickly the Danger and " Damages that in this ſuſpect Time may enſue to " your Highneſs, your Realm and Subjects, it is unto " me one of the *ſingular Conſolations and Comforts that* " *ever I had*, whereby I evidently perceive, that no " Man can more groundedly conſider the politick Go- " vernance of your ſaid Realm, nor more aſſuredly " look to the Preſervation thereof, than ye yourſelf; " and therefore, tho' your Grace, of your Goodneſs, " require my *poor Advice, yet well aſſured I am, ye* " *can better provide Remedy for the ſame, than I can* " *imagine or deviſe.*

" Nevertheleſs, to accompliſh your noble Pleaſure " and Commandment, I ſhall declare my *poor Opi-* " *nion, tho' remitting always the ſame to your Refor-* " *mation and Correction.*

" And, firſt, Sir, albeit I ſuppoſe, that the *French* " King, troubled and infeſted with ſo many Enemies, " and Armies on every Side, as well within his own " Realm, as in the Dutchy of *Milan*, and upon the " Borders of *Navarre*, will be well ware how he at- " tempt any thing, either by Land or Sea, whereby " he ſhould give Occaſion to provoke you to break " with him, and join with any of his Enemies, by " means whereof he might fall to many Dangers; " yet, upon that Ground will I not take my Founda- " tion; tho' this Day the Chancellor of *France*, after " he had dined with me alone, without any of his " Collegues, declared expreſly, *That not only the King* " *his Maſter hath in you the moſt Affiance before all other* " *Princes*; but alſo plainly ſhewed, *That tho' ſuch Ad-*

" *vice*

" *vice and Council, as I in your Name, and as your*
" *Lieutenant*, ſhould ſhew unto him, for the firm
" Entertainment of the good Amity between your
" Grace and him, he had Commandment to be con-
" formable; and that both his ſaid Maſter and he
" was as good *Engliſh* as any of your Subjects, like
" as it ſhould be well known by his favourable En-
" tertaining of your Subjects, repairing to any of the
" Dominions under the Obeiſance of his ſaid Maſter,
" whereby it appeareth, that as yet for any Bruits
" they have no Manner of Suſpicion.

" Nevertheleſs, for the aſſured remedying of the
" doubtful Dangers, by your Grace foreſeen and re-
" membred, I thought not moſt Surety to lean only
" to Words, unleſs the ſame were corroborate by
" available Bands and Writings: Wherefore, beſides
" other Remedies which I ſhall hereafter particularly
" declare in this my Letter, I have taken this Order
" with the ſaid Chancellor of *France*: 1*ſt*, Foraſ-
" much as Complaints be here daily moved by your
" Subjects, of ſuch Depredations as be committed
" upon them by the *Frenchmen*, which are manifeſtly
" proved before the ſaid Chancellor, and not only
" no Redreſs made to ſome of your Subjects upon
" the ſame, but alſo divers Ships have been reſcued
" from them, whereof one, with certain *Frenchmen*
" apprized thereof, arrived here in your *Haven* this
" Day, I have therefore upon thoſe Grounds, with-
" out ſpeaking of the Matter of *Bourdeaux*, cauſed
" the ſaid Chancellor to determine, that Proclama-
" tions be made throughout the Realms of *France*
" and *Brittain*, upon the Sea-coaſts, *That no Man,*
" *under Pain of Death, ſhall enterprize to take any*
" Engliſh *Ships, or any* Engliſhman's *Goods*; *but that*
" *all* Engliſh, *both by Land, Sea, and Freſh-water,*
" *ſhall have as free Courſe in Surety to paſs, re-*
" *main and return at their Liberty, as ever they*

" *had*

" *had heretofore in the Dominions of the ſaid* French
" *King*.

" I have alſo moved the ſaid Chancellor to write " to the King, his Maſter, that over and beſides the " ſaid Proclamations, an open Placard, ſigned and " ſealed by the ſaid *French* King, ſhall be made and " delivered to your Grace, making Aſſurance to all " and ſingular your Subjects, repairing to *Bourdeaux*, " or any other his Dominions under his Obeiſance, " by Sea or Land, that they, and every of them, " ſhall not only be favourably entertained, but alſo " ſuffered ſafely to return with their Ships, Goods, " and Merchandizes, according to the Treaties, with- " out any Trouble or Vexation to any of your ſaid " Subjects; to the granting and expediting of which " open Placard, I find the ſaid Chancellor right agreea- " ble: And, albeit the *French* King be bound here- " unto by Treaty, yet, if, contrary to the ſame " Treaty, Proclamations, and Placards, they ſhall " attempt any thing againſt your Subjects, it may " be more grievouſly arrected unto the *French* King's " Charge, when ye ſhall make your Declaration a- " gainſt him.

" And, Sir, during our Abode at this Diet, hav- " ing the Chancellor of *France* here, they ſhall not " dare to enterprize any thing at *Bourdeaux* againſt " the Goods or Ships of any Subject of your Realm; " and a Truce or Abſtinence of War being taken " by the Commiſſioners of this Diet, as I truſt it ſhall " be, then Hoſtility ſhall ceaſe on all Parts during the " Truce, whereby your Navy and Ships ſhall be in " Safety.

" And yet, Sir, for an habundaunt Cautele for the " Safeguard of your Ships and Navy, repairing this " Year to *Bourdeaux*, I have deviſed three Ways; " whereof the *1ſt* is, that Proviſion by your Grace " ſhould be made in your Ports, that no Ship above " the Portage of an hundred or ſix Score ſhould

" paſs

" paſs to *Bourdeaux* this Year; and that no Multitude
" of Ships ſhould conſort there together and at
" once; but ſuch a convenient Number as ye ſhall
" think good, ſuffering them firſt to return for
" Knowledge, how they have ſped, before any more
" Ships be ſent forth; by which Means not only
" the great Ships of your Realm be in Safety, but
" alſo the moſt Part of your Navy conſerved from
" Danger.

" The 2*d* Remedy is this, that, in caſe it may
" like your Grace not only to licenſe your Subjects
" to bring their Wines upon Strangers Bottoms, but
" alſo give Liberty to the *Frenchmen* and *Brittons*, to
" bring *Gaſcoign* Wines to your Realm upon their
" proper Ships, ye ſhould not only have right great
" Plenty of Wines at better Prices, than it hath been
" accuſtomed to be ſold heretofore, with the Aug-
" mentation of your Cuſtoms; but alſo relieve *Flan-*
" *ders* and the Emperor's Countries with Wines,
" whereby, during the Wars, they ſhall be deſtitute,
" if they be not relieved by your Means; and be-
" ſides that, Sir, there ſhall ſo many *French* and
" *Britton* Ships reſort to your Realm, under Colour
" of your ſaid Licence and Liberty, that ye ſhall
" always have a good counter Security and Paine, to
" take their Ships, if they would enterprize any thing
" againſt you.

" Finally, Sir, among other Devices and Capitula-
" tions, that we be now making for the Safety and
" Surety of the *Fiſhers*, as well of *Flanders* as of
" *France*, during this *Herring-time*, I do intend, be-
" ſide the foreſaid Proviſions, for the Safeguard of
" the Navy, to deviſe the Articles to be concluded
" by the mutual Conſent of both Parties, that not
" only your Subjects, with their Goods, Ships, and
" Merchandize, ſhall ſurely and ſafely paſs and re-
" paſs through all Harbours under the Dominions
" of the Emperor and the *French* King; but alſo,

" that

" that no Manner of Ships, Strangers or others, ſhall " be taken within their Streams; by which Articles " the Liberty of your Streams and Territories of the " Sea ſhall be more largely extended and amplified, " as well by the Emperor's as the *French* King's " Expreſs Conſents, by more ſpecial Articles than ever " it was before; which Articles alſo ſhall be a high " Remedy for the Preſervation of your Navy, and " free Liberty to be given thereby unto them, freely " to paſs and repaſs to all Coaſts and Countries, " under the Dominions and Obeiſances of the ſaid " Princes, without Damage."

After the Cardinal had ſent theſe Letters to the King, he received an Account from Court of the great Spoil done by the *French* to ſome *Engliſh* Ships, which confirmed his Suſpicions of their Fidelity, and produced another Letter.

A Third Letter to the King.

SIR,

" WHEREAS your Grace doubteth not but " that I, with your Council here at *Calais*, " had had ſo large Knowledge of the Damage of " your Subjects, being daily deſpoiled on Sea, as ye " have advertiſed me, ſince both I and they would " have agreed with your Grace in one Opinion. " Sir, Truth it is, that I had certain Knowledge of " ſundry Deſpoils done upon the Sea by *Frenchmen*, " before I advertiſed your Grace of my ſaid *poor* " *Anſwer and Opinion* for this *Bourdeaux* Voyage, " which, upon their Complaints, had good Redreſs " and Reſtitution, whereby I was moved to have the " better Truſt; and ſince that Time I received another " Letter from your Secretary, wherein he writeth, " that two Hulks, wherein were certain Goods ap- " pertaining to *Engliſhmen*, were lately taken by *French-* " *men*, the one being conveyed to *Boleyn*, and the " other to *Frith* in *Scotland*.

" An

" And as touching the Hulk conveyed to *Boleyn*, " ſurmiſed to appertain to *Birch*, wherein one *Roch* " of *London* pretendeth to have Goods, I have cauſed " ſome of your Council here to hear the Complaints " of the ſaid *Roch*; and, albeit the ſaid *Roch* neither " can nor will juſtify the ſaid Hulk to appertain to " *Birch*, yet he challengeth certain Goods in her, " whereof, I doubt not, he ſhall have Reſtitution, if " he can duly prove them to be his: And as to the " other Hulk, carried into *Scotland*, I ſee no Remedy " but Letters to be deviſed and ſped by your Grace, " to be ſent to the Council of *Scotland* by the Parties " dampnified, there to purſue for Reſtitution; and if " they be *Frenchmen* that have taken the Goods, then " a Certificate to be made of their Names and dwell- " ing Places, with a Specialty of the Goods taken; " then I ſhall endeavour myſelf with the Chancellor " of *France* for the Reſtitution to be made according " to Juſtice; and this in effect be all the Deſpoils that " I know newly done. Howbeit ſome other Purſuits " have been made here, for Redreſs of Depredations " done upon the Sea about *Midſummer* and before, " which ſhall alſo be remedied in the Countries where " the Offenders dwell, for which Purpoſe Letters be " delivered by the Chancellor to the Parties Com- " plainants.

" This, Sir, like as we heretofore conformed our " Opinions and Mind, touching the Voyage of *Bour-* " *deaux*, to your high Pleaſure, ſo we eftſoons remit " the ſame to your great Wiſdom. And, Sir, to en- " quire of the *Frenchmen*, why they take the *Eaſter-* " *ling* Hulks? it appertaineth not to me as your Lieu- " tenant; for if they will pretend Inimity to be be- " twixt the Merchants of *Danske* and them, your " Grace may not conveniently let the ſame; howbeit, " to reſtore your Subjects Goods being in them I " have and would ſpeak accordingly.

" And whereas your Secretary further writeth, that " this firſt Vintage may be further reſpited and de- " ferred upon good Grounds, without Diſtruſt or Jea- " louſy, by Declaration of this manifold Deſpoils, " and cruel Intreaty of your Subjects upon the Sea, " as well by *Frenchmen* as *Spaniards*; by reaſon where- " of it may be ſaid they abſtain from the ſaid Vin- " tage, like as to good Policy it appertaineth, for the " Servation of themſelves and Surety of their Goods; " I think the ſame full good and reaſonable Conſi- " derations, if they take it well. Howbeit, to defer " that Voyage to the latter Vintage at *Candlemas*, ſo " that, by Virtue of a Truce to be taken here, they " may then reſort thither in Surety; Sir, under your " Favour and Correction, your ſaid Subjects ſhall be " in more Danger going then than now; for, if ſome " Suſpicion and Diſtruſt be taken now by the *French* " King, as your Grace judgeth, by the ſtrange En- " treaty of your Ambaſſador, it is to be ſuppoſed, " that by that Time it ſhall be further ſpread and " increaſed; and ſo, I ſay, that, if the Treaty not yet " declared be broken, the Placard of ſafe Conduct, " and all the other Remedies before touched, cannot " now ſtand in ſtead; then the Abſtention of War, " which may be as ſoon broken, if there be no Truce, " as all the other Aſſurance, cannot then prevail; " eſpecially conſidering this Amity ſtanding yet un- " broken, betwixt you and the *French* King, no Truce " can be taken betwixt you and him: For taking of " a Truce preſuppoſeth Rupture of Amity, and there- " fore this Truce muſt be only taken betwixt the " Emperor and the *French* King, for the Indemnity " of their Subjects, which cannot help their Subjects; " Inconſideration whereof theſe Remedies now pro- " vided may better ſerve at this Time, than the Abſti- " nence of War then; and eſpecially the ſafe Con- " duct compriſed in the Placard, for all your Subjects

reſort-

" reſorting to *France*, which is an abundant Cautele,
" tho' the ſame ſtanding the Amity needed not.

" Sir, if Princes accuſtomably obſerved their ſafe
" Conducts to their Enemies in Time of open War,
" it is to be ſuppoſed they will not break it ſtanding
" the Colour of Peace and Amity.

" And on the other ſide the ſecond Vintage is com-
" monly in *February*, about the *Purification* of our
" Lady; in which Month it is included by Treaty,
" that the Emperor ſhall be with you in *England*, and
" then the Diſtruſt and Jealouſy ſhall be more largely
" impreſſed in the *Frenchmen*'s Hands, than it is now.
" And albeit your Subjects may then go ſurely with-
" out Impeachment, yet it were not poſſible to bring
" Wine of the ſecond Vintage to ſerve the Emperor
" at his Coming into your Realms.

" And whereas it is further written that, by this
" Treaty taken with the Emperor, it is ſufficiently
" provided for the Indemnity in the Penſion of *France*
" to be paid by the Emperor, if the *French* King re-
" fuſe to pay the ſame; Sir, the Matter dependeth
" upon your Declaration, and therefore good were it
" to ſave the next Payment to be made by the *French*
" King, if it might conveniently be.

" And whereas it is alledged, that my Doubt is
" ſolved by mine own Writing; whereas I ſuppoſe the
" *French* King ſhall not provoke your Enmity, but
" conſerve your Amity; Sir, if my Letter be well re-
" garded, I writ that only conditionally, unleſs he
" be driven thereunto by Diſtruſt and Diffidence; and
" ſo that Doubt remaineth not unabſolved."

Upon the Whole it appears that effectual Care was taken to *recover the Freedom of Commerce*,* ſo that our Merchants had Liberty to trade without being interrupted by any Power whatſoever, notwithſtanding the War at this Time was carried on with great Fury between the Emperor and *France*.

* A Privilege ever dear to our Anceſtors!

The Miniſters of the Emperor and France *attend the Cardinal.*

In the mean time the Cardinal being at *Calais*, in order to execute his Commiſſion by Conſent of both Powers, he was ſoon met by their Miniſters, on the Part of the Emperor by Monſieur *Gattinara*, his Chancellor, Monſieur *Du Berghis* and others; on the Part of *France* by *Anthony Du Prat*, Chancellor, *John de Selve* and Marſhal *de Paliſſe*, attended by 400 Horſe. Then the *French* communicated to the Cardinal their Maſter's Reaſons for beginning the Operations of the War, which were, "That the Emperor had "not reſtored *Navarre*, as he was obliged to do by "the Treaty of *Noyon*: That he refuſed to pay the "Penſion for *Naples*: That he did not do Homage "to *Francis*, for ſuch Lands as he held of him in "*Flanders*: And that he had procured the Pope to "make War upon him in *Italy*."

The Cardinal demanded of the *French* Miniſters, what they would firſt ask? They anſwered, "The "Reſtitution of *Navarre*, the Penſion for *Naples*, Re-"cognition of their Maſter's Superiority for the *Low* "*Countries*, and Aſſurance that the Marriage ſhould "be perfected between the Emperor and a Daughter "of *France*."

To the principal Article the Cardinal obſerved, "That "before a Kingdom could be reſtored, the Title muſt "be firſt tried; wherefore, if they would condeſcend "to a Ceſſation of Arms for 6 or 7 Years, the King "his Maſter would be glad in the mean time to adjuſt "all Differences between them:" But the *French* Miniſters declined this Expedient, ſaying, "They muſt "either have their Demands, or War." This the Emperor's Miniſters refuſing to comply with, both ſides making their ſeveral Demands with much Heat, the Cardinal found it very difficult to bring them to any Temper, even when the Merits of the Caſe were moſt clear: For tho' the Homage in particular, required by the *French*, for *Flanders* and *Artois*, as being formerly

formerly held of the Crown of *France*, ſeemed to admit of no Diſpute, yet the Emperor's Miniſters refuſed it, for this Reaſon, (the Weakneſs of which diſcovered itſelf at firſt ſight) "That Eſtate, they ſaid, being "devolved upon an Emperor, acquired a higher "Relation and Dignity than what belonged to any "inferior Power." To which the *French* truly anſwered, "That it could not be derogatory to the Rights "or Honour of any Perſon, to render what was due."

Again, they had their different Pretenſions to *Milan*, the Inveſtiture whereof having been obtained by *Lewis* the XIIth, *Francis*, in Purſuance of his Right and Title, expelled *Max. Sforza*, whoſe Brother and Succeſſor was yet protected by the Emperor.

Burgundy was the next Bone of Contention: For it was alledged, "That, tho' *John*, King of *France*, "in whoſe Diſpoſition it was at that Time, had "given it to his younger Son, *Philip*; yet it was "given with this Reſtriction, that it ſhould deſcend "only to his Male Heirs. But *Charles*, the laſt Duke "of *Burgundy*, having but one Daughter, it conſe-"quently reverted to the Crown of *France*; in Vir-"tue of which Claim it had been annexed to that "Crown by *Lewis* the XIth."

The Emperor, explaining the Conveyance made by King *John*, in another Manner, claimed *Burgundy* in Right of a long Succeſſion.

Theſe different Pretenſions opened a Way to the Projects of War on each Side: For *Wolſey*, finding both Parties unwilling to make any Conceſſions to each other, but juſt as their Armies were ſucceſsful or unſucceſsful, and that in like Manner the Plenipotentiaries were for or againſt Peace, he publickly declared, "That he deſpaired of Succeſs in his Undertaking, "and therefore, if the Miniſters were not ſoon fur-"niſhed with more ample Inſtructions, he would return "to *England*." But in the mean time, he preſented to the Miniſters of the Emperor and *France* a Treaty, importing,

porting, "That the two contending Monarchs ſhould "command their Subjects not to purſue the Ships "or Veſſels of either Party into the Ports of *Eng-* "*land*, nor commit any Hoſtilities within the Terri- "tories of the King thereof, during the War: That the "Miniſters of each Party, that compoſed the Con- "greſs ſhould freely retire with their Train, with- "out receiving any Injury from the Troops of the "Parties engaged in the War: That the King of "*England*, and the *Cardinal Legate*, his Lieutenant, "ſhould be the *Conſervators* of theſe Articles; and "that the Treaty ſhould be ratified within ten Days." Which was done accordingly, both by the Emperor and the King of *France*, on the 12th and 14th of *October*.

Upon this Treaty *Rapin* ſays, "We have here "a very ſenſible Proof of the Cardinal's *Inſolence*, "who, in a Treaty drawn by himſelf, preſumed, "thus to ſet himſelf on a Level with his Maſter, "by being declared *Conſervator* with the King." And we cannot altogether commend this Step; tho' it may be ſaid, in Juſtification of the Cardinal, that he might have looked on himſelf to be properly a *Conſervator* of ſuch Treaties, as being *Legate a Latere* from the See of *Rome*, who then aſſumed in *Spirituals* the Power of condemning the Infring- ers of ſolemn Treaties. Beſides, if the impetuous Temper of *Henry* is conſidered, it is not to be thought that *Wolſey* would have taken ſuch a Step, without knowing that his Station would bear him out in it. And it plainly appears from the foregoing Letters, that, when he writes to his Maſter, as his Miniſter in *Temporal* Affairs, he pays a ſingular Devotion to his Judgment and Orders.

The Negotiations between the Parties being thus at a Stand, the Cardinal at laſt, by his Maſter's Orders, propoſed to go himſelf in Perſon to the Emperor at *Bruges*, to perſuade him to a Peace; or, if that could not be effected, to a Truce: Propoſing alſo to the Miniſters,

Miniſters, that during, his Abſence, they ſhould continue at *Calais*, and the *French* write to their Maſter for more ample Inſtructions.

With which Propoſal the *French* appeared to be well ſatisfied, believing the Cardinal took this Journey upon no other Deſign than that of perſuading the Emperor to Peace: But his Eminency is charged with going to *Bruges* upon Views foreign from what the *French* expected; to wit, 1*ſt*, To treat concerning a new Alliance upon the Propoſal of a Marriage between the Emperor and the Princeſs *Mary*; and 2*dly*, concerning a Treaty of Indemnity; the Condition of which was, "That in Caſe *Francis* ſhould either refuſe or diſ-"continue the Payments to be made for the Reſtitu-"tion of *Tournay*, the Emperor ſhould take the Diſ-"charge of them upon himſelf, in Purſuance of the "League to be entered into between him and the "King of *England*." Whatever might be the Cardinal's Reaſons for undertaking this Journey, he actually repaired to the Emperor, and was received by him with all the Honour that could well be paid to a crowned Head, meeting him at ſome Diſtance from *Bruges*, and perſonally conducting him into it. See Vol. II. fol. 17, *&c.* in *Cavendiſh*'s Hiſtory.

The Cardinal ſoon perceived, that the Emperor was determined, not to comply with the *French* King's Demands; ſo that his next Care was the Intereſt of his Country, by ſettling Conditions with the Emperor, in caſe of a Breach between his Maſter and *France*; which having accompliſhed, he returned to *Calais*; and at his Departure the Emperor accompanied him to the Gates of *Bruges*, leaving then the Prince of *Orange* and the Duke of *Alva* to attend him ſomewhat further on his Way.

The *French* Miniſters impatiently waited his Return, to whom he imparted the Emperor's Reſolution, and told them in general Terms, "That there were no Hopes "of an Accommodation; and that their Maſter was "guilty of the Breach of Peace, by invading *Navarre*."

Thus

Thus ended the Congreſs; they all returned Home as faſt as they could; and on the 20th of *Nov.* the Cardinal ſafely landed at *Dover*, and inſtantly repaired to Court, where he was kindly received by his Maſter.

Wolſey was now charged with having been guilty of a very heinous Offence, in carrying the *Great Seal* with him to *Calais*, which, by the way, was in the King's Dominions. But then the Cardinal's Enemies ſay, "Juſtice was thereby delayed, and many "*Engliſh* were forced to go to him, to receive their "Diſpatches; and that the conſtituting of Sheriffs "was ſuſpended till his Return." As to the firſt Cavil, when the Lord Chancellor, at any Time goes into the Country on a Receſs from Buſineſs, he takes the *Great Seal* with him; and, if any Matters occurs, Meſſengers repair to his Lordſhip whereſoever he reſides, to have their Affairs diſpatched, and don't complain of the Length of the Journey. It is likewiſe to be obſerved, that Care was taken to appoint Judges to hear Cauſes in *Chancery* in his Abſence, whilſt he was employed in the Service of his Country; yet he muſt not eſcape uncenſured. The other Cavil, of delaying the Appointment of Sheriffs, is entirely wrong, if the Courſe was then as it is now, for they are not appointed till *December*; and it appears *Wolſey* landed in *England*, and returned to Court in *November*.

The Beginning of this Year *Wolſey* obtained a new Bull from *Leo* the Xth, which prolonged his Legateſhip for two Years: He alſo received from the Pope a Bull empowering him to make 50 Knights, 50 Counts Palatine, as many *Accolites* * and Chaplains, 40 Notaries Apoſtolick, who ſhould have the ſame Priviledges as thoſe made by the Pope, to legitimate Baſtards, give Degrees in Arts, Law, Phyſick, and Divinity, and grant all Sorts of Diſpenſations. "In

* An inferior Church-ſervant in *Popiſh* Countries, who, under the Sub-deacon, wait on the Prieſts and Deacons, light the Candles, ſerve the Bread and Wine, and pay other ſervile Attendance.

" In a Word, ſays *Rapin*, not content with all the " Riches he poſſeſſed, or with the Means he had " to encreaſe them inceſſantly, he cauſed the rich " *Abbey* of *St. Albans* to be given him *in Commendam* " this Year."

It was obſerved that, at the End of this Year, there was a great Decay of Tillage and Huſbandry in *England*, owing to the vaſt Quantity of Incloſures made by the Nobility and Gentry, who within 50 Years had kept their Lands in their own Hands, and turned moſt of them into Paſture; from whence among other Inconveniences it followed, that the Number of Huſbandmen, and Perſons capable of defending the Country, was very much leſſened, many Towns and Villages were depopulated, and the Prices both of Work and Meat were much enhanced, the latter being engroſſed by Perſons who were not obliged to ſell. To remedy all this the King put in force the Statutes made againſt Incloſures, and iſſued out his Commiſſion, to Juſtices of the Peace and other Magiſtrates, to ſee them put in Execution. There was alſo ſo great a *Dearth* in *England*, that Wheat was ſold for 20*s.* a Quarter, a great Price at that Time.

Affairs of Turky. 1521.

Solyman, the *Turkiſh* Emperor, having ſettled his large Empire, began this Year to put his Deſigns upon *Chriſtendom* in Execution; and invaded the Kingdom of *Hungary*, about the Beginning of *March*, to the great Surprize of *Lewis*, King of that Country, who thereupon ſent Ambaſſadors to all the *Chriſtian* Princes, to ſollicit their Aid upon ſo emergent an Occaſion; and accordingly, ſeveral Princes ſent the King of *Hungary* an Aſſiſtance in Money, particularly the *Venetians*, who ſent him 30,000 Ducats.

The *Turkiſh* Army firſt ſat down before *Belgrade*, and after ſome Time took the City, and then the Sultan returned to *Conſtantinople*, giving out, that he intended

to return into *Hungary* again in the Spring: And, further to convince the *Hungarians* that that was his real Deſign, he left his Cannon and Ammunition in that Kingdom.

Muskets firſt uſed. This Year Muskets were firſt invented, and *Du Bellay* ſays, "They were uſed in the "War between the *Germans* and *French*."

The People of *Holland* were now under great Calamities by the Overflowing of the Dikes, whereby 72 Villages, and above 100,000 Perſons were drowned.

Affairs of Italy. 1521. About the Beginning of this Year *Leo* the Xth concluded, with the *French* Ambaſſador reſiding at *Rome*, a Treaty in Behalf of his Maſter, for the Conqueſt of *Naples*. However, *Francis* delayed ratifying that Treaty, on conſidering the Treatment his Predeceſſor had met with from the Pope, and could not be perſuaded, that *Leo* would heartily join him in that Conqueſt.

From this *Leo* ſuſpected, that *Francis* was negotiating with *Charles* to the Prejudice of the Holy See; and with the ſame Reaſon we think his Holineſs might be within the Reach of *Rapin*'s Obſervation, *That thoſe who deal not ſincerely* are ready to think *others like themſelves*; for the Pope immediately ſhifted Sides, and entered into a Treaty with the Emperor, whereby he agreed to aſſiſt in driving the *French* out of the *Milaneſe*, and reſtoring *Sforza*. The firſt indeed was contrary to his Intereſt, but the other was agreeable to the Projects he had formed: We muſt therefore conclude, that he entered into that with *Francis* only to alarm the Emperor, in order to procure better Terms from him, *Leo* being always vaſtly delighted with the Thoughts of having two Strings to his Bow.

The Treaty with the Emperor was kept ſo ſecret, that it came not to the Knowledge of *Francis*, till juſt as the Allies were going to invade the *Milaneſe* with a powerful Army, which was to be commanded by *Proſper Colonna*.

Leſcut,

Leſcut, in the Abſence of his Brother *Lautrec*, was Governor of *Milan*, who had all the Virtues as well as the Vices in common with the *Bornois*, his Countrymen; his Courage was undaunted, and never appeared with a more chearful Countenance, than when he was to look the greateſt Dangers in the Face; but on the other hand he was highly preſumptive, and prodigal to Exceſs; the firſt rendered him contemptible to the Nobility, and the ſecond made him often, for ſlight Offences, confiſcate the Eſtates of ſeveral wealthy Families, to enable him to maintain his Pomp and Luxury.

Merone, one of the Enemies of *France*, having aſſembled a great Number of Exiles, (baniſhed by the *French*) in the Neighbourhood of *Milan*, giving Uneaſineſs to the Governor, he ſallied out with ſome Troops, in order to diſlodge him, which he effected, and even purſued the Exiles to *Reggio*, a Town in the Pope's Territories: After which *Leſcut* demanded the Governor to deliver them into his Hands, but he refuſed. Upon this *Leſcut* withdrew from before *Reggio*, and encamped in the Pope's Territories for 10 or 12 Days.

The Pope took this Opportunity to call a Conſiſtory, and in his Speech greatly to aggravate *Leſcut*'s Affront, declaring, *That in Revenge he was reſolved to join with the Emperor*; tho' he had actually done that before this Accident happened.

Whilſt *Leſcut* was at *Reggio*, *Adorna*, baniſhed from *Genoa*, attempted to ſurprize that City, but did not ſucceed. A few Days after *Leſcut* diſcovered a Plot was forming to ſurprize *Como*, and that the Pope and the Emperor were the Authors of it; ſo that he no longer doubted that their chief Deſign was to diſpoſſeſs the *French* of the *Milaneſe*. Of this Diſcovery he immediately ſent Letters to acquaint the King, and beſeeched him forthwith to ſend the 20,000 *Switzers* intended for *Milan*.

Francis, ſurprized at the News, immediately gave Orders for theſe Troops, and withal commanded Marſhal *Lautrec* to return to his Government, promiſing he ſhould want for nothing. At firſt the General made ſome Scruple, being very dubious of the Aſſiſtance promiſed; for he knew that the Royal Treaſury was much exhauſted, and that without Money nothing could be done; therefore frankly told the King, *That, if he was not aſſiſted with* 300,000 *Crowns*, Milan *could not be preſerved*; and even then he expreſſed his Unwillingneſs to return to that Government. This made the Court very uneaſy; but at length his Siſter's Tears, and the King's abſolute Orders, which ſhe delivered into his Hands, obliged *Lautrec* to obey his Majeſty's Commands; and, to encourage him therein, the King's Treaſurer ſwore, *That he ſhould no ſooner get to* Milan, *but he ſhould receive Bills of Exchange for the Money he demanded.* Upon theſe Aſſurances *Lautrec* ſet out Poſt for that Dutchy, where ſoon after he arrived.

The ill Omen that attended his Arrival was enough to have diſcouraged a Courage leſs undaunted than his; for a Flaſh of Lightning ſet on Fire the Tower of the Caſtle of *Milan*, where the Powder lay, and, blowing it up into the Air in a ſolid Bulk, turned the Foundation uppermoſt; and, what was ſtill worſe, the Lightning was not the only Diſaſter; for the Treaſurer broke his Promiſe with reſpect to the Remittances.

Mean while the Pope and the Emperor were very buſy in getting an Army together, in order to put their Deſigns upon *Milan* in Execution, which they had no ſooner done, but *Proſper Colonna* took upon himſelf the Command of it; ſo that theſe Powers no longer diſguiſed their Intentions, for now *Colonna* begun the Campaign with beſieging *Parma*; and thus the War was again kindled in *Italy*. *Lautrec*, on his Part, was ſoon prepared to give the Enemies of *France* a warm Reception; for he had not been many Days at *Milan*,

Milan, before he received the Supplies he expected from *Switzerland*, and with theſe and ſome other Forces he marched againſt *Colonna*, forced him to raiſe the Siege, and purſued him even beyond the Borders of the *Milaneſe*. Then he drew the Garriſon out of *Parma*, in order to ſtrengthen his Army, imagining that Place to be ſafe, but he was miſtaken; for thoſe Troops were ſcarcely got out of the City, before the Inhabitants ſeized it, declared for the Pope, and erected the Colours of the Church on the Walls.

This was not the only Misfortune *Lautrec* was to be expoſed to during the Campaign, for preſently after he was deſerted by the 20,000 *Switzers*, who, not meeting with what they expected, without more to do marched back to their own Country; ſo that he was conſtrained to retire to *Milan*, where *Proſper Colonna* purſued him in his Turn with all poſſible Diligence; and *Lautrec*, deſpairing of his Ability to defend the Place, quitted the Town, after he had ſupplied the Caſtle, and withdrew to *Como*, where he had the Mortification alſo to find the 4000 *Switzers* (who he thought would have ſtood by him) were alſo returned Home, becauſe he had no Money to pay them, owing to the Diſappointment we have juſt mentioned.

In ſhort, *Colonna* ſoon poſſeſſed himſelf of the City of *Milan* and other ſtrong Places in that Dutchy; ſo that *Francis* was in a fair Way of loſing the *Milaneſe*; nor was it poſſible for *Lautrec*, under the diſmal Circumſtances, of having neither Troops nor Money, to have ſupported himſelf long, had not the Pope's Death, on the 13th of *Dec.* afforded him a Reſpite.

The Death of Leo the Xth.

Guicciardin ſays, "The Pope was in "the Village of *Magliana*, where he often "retired for Recreation, when he firſt "heard the News of the taking of *Milan*, and the "wretched Condition the *French* were reduced to, "which excited in him ſuch a Paſſion of Joy, that the "ſame Night he was taken with a Fever; but, in order

"to

" to be better taken Care of, he removed to *Rome*, " where he ſhortly after died:" Notwithſtanding, the Phyſicians, at firſt, were in no Pain reſpecting to any ill Conſequence that might enſue from his Sickneſs, yet it was ſecretly whiſpered, that he was poiſoned by his Chamberlain, at the Inſtigation of the *French* King. This Domeſtick was accordingly taken up on Suſpicion, but, the Proſecution being dropped, he was diſcharged by Cardinal *de Medicis*, and, as ſome ſay, out of Reſpect to the *French* King; a plain Inſtance they had no great Value for his Holineſs.

His Character.

The Pope died, having, according to his Wiſh, recovered the two Cities of *Parma* and *Milan*, which, he declared, was the chief Reaſon that induced him to enter into the War; for, ſays the Pope on that Occaſion to the College of Cardinals, *Whenever God ſhall bleſs me with the Effect of that Deſire, it will not grieve me to die.*

" He was a Prince, ſays *Guicciardin*, in whom were " many Faculties worthy to be both commended and " blamed; and in Eſtate and Courſe of his Life " he greatly deceived the Expectation that was had " of him, for that when he was raiſed to the Papal " Chair he ſhewed more Wiſdom but leſs Goodneſs " than was hoped of him."

Bayle ſays, " *Leo* the Xth led a Life little ſuitable " to the Succeſſor of the Apoſtles, and perfectly " voluptuous. He took too much Pleaſure in Hunt- " ing; it is ſaid his Eye at this Sport was ſurpriz- " ingly quick. As he had been taught by Preceptors " who inſtructed him thoroughly in the *Belles Lettres*, " he loved and protected Men of Wit and Learning. " He favoured the Poets in a particular Manner, and " that without preſerving always the Gravity which his " Character required. This appeared on ſeveral Oc- " caſions, and even in the Privileges he granted to " *Arioſto*'s Poems: In a Word, let us ſay, that Scho- " lars and Buffoons ſhared his Friendſhip."

It

It is further related of this Pope, that one Day a Poet preſented to his Holineſs ſome *Latin* Verſes in Rhime, on which his Holineſs merrily returned an *extempore* Flight, containing an equal Number of Verſes in the ſame Rhimes. Upon this the Poet, vexed to ſee that *Leo* gave him nothing elſe, returned the following Couplet;

Si tibi pro Numeris, Numeros Fortuna dediſſet;
Non eſſet capiti, tanta Corona Tuo.

Had Fortune thus, thy Verſe with Verſe repaid;
The Tripple Crown had ne'er adorn'd thy Head.

With this Rapartee the Pope was ſo pleaſed, that he extended more than his uſual Liberality to him.

When *Leo* was elected Pope, it was extremely agreeable to almoſt all *Europe*, the *Chriſtian* World being perſuaded, that he would prove an excellent Head of the Church, both from the illuſtrious Memory of his Father's Valour, and the general Opinion all Ranks had of his Liberality, Humanity, Continence, and good Morals; hoping that, in Imitation of his Father, he would be a Lover of the *Literati*, and of all eminent Men, which Expectation, was encreaſed by the Character given of him by *Politian*, in a Letter he wrote to Pope *Innocent* the VIIIth, when *Leo* was made a Cardinal,* Part of which runs thus:

" This Youth is ſo formed by Nature and Edu-
" ducation, that, being inferior to none in Genius,
" he neither yields to his Equals in Induſtry, nor his
" Teachers in *Learning*, nor old Men in Gravity.
" He is naturally honeſt, and ſo ſtrictly educated,
" that he never lets fall an immodeſt or even a light
" Expreſſion. He does not diſtinguiſh himſelf by his
" Action, Geſture, or Gait, or by any thing elſe that
" may

* Created when but 12 Years of Age.

" may give an ill Impreſſion of him: Though a " young Man, his Judgment is ſo mature, that even " the Old reſpect him as a Father."

Guicciardin repreſents this Pope as an accompliſhed Model of modern Policy, and the greateſt Stateſman of his Age.*

From this it hath been obſerved, " That the blen- " ding the Temporal with the Eccleſiaſtical Autho- " rity in the ſame Perſon, is generally the Ruin of the " Evangelical Spirit. This Combination had Place " among the *Pagans*, and was not unſerviceable to " the temporal Good of their Religion; for the Join- " ing thoſe two together is like joining the dead Car- " caſs with the living Body; a fatal Conjunction " where the dead communicates its Stench to the " living Body, and receives no vital Influence from " it."

Varillas (in his Extract from *Guicciardin*) ſays, "That " *Leo* ſurpaſſed *Ferdinand* of *Spain*, and triumphed in " his Youth over all the Artifices of that old Uſurper, by " obtaining the Secret of getting all his Deſigns ſecond- " ed by the Councils of *Spain*, whether they would or " no. After having eſtabliſhed theſe wonderful Prin- " ciples, there are no ſhining Virtues but what heighten " the Picture of *Leo* the Xth. He formed at twelve " Years of Age, when he was made Cardinal, thoſe " vaſt Projects which he executed afterwards, when " he was exalted to St. *Peter*'s Diadem. He nego- " ciated with the State of *Venice* to ſave the Ruins of " his Houſe, which had not Power to withſtand the " Fortune of *Charles* the VIIIth. He changed not " his Reſolution in ſeeing his Brother loſt in paſſing " a River: He had no other Thoughts than the edu- " cating the only Son, which his Brother had left in " the

* "As to Divine Matters, ſays " *Jovius*, his Character has not " ſuffered a little; for he was ſo " laviſh of Indulgences, theſe " old Inſtruments by which the " Popes got Money, that he " ſeems to have leſſened the Cre- " dit of the holy Authority."

" the Cradle; upon which he returned to *Rome*, where " his Intrigues recommended him to the Favour of " *Julius* the IId, and occaſioned his being choſen Le- " gate in the Army, deſigned to drive the *French* out " of *Italy*. He was taken Priſoner at the Battle of " *Ravanna*, and made his Eſcape in a lucky Conjunc- " ture for him, *Julius* happening juſt then to die. " He entered the Conclave, where he took ſuch Ad- " vantages of the Caprice of the young Cardinals, " who were obſtinately bent on making a Pope of " their own Age, that he procured their Votes in fa- " vour of himſelf. He joined with the *Spaniards*, " and managed their Friendſhip, as long as he thought " it uſeful towards re-eſtabliſhing his Family, in the " principal Functions of the Magiſtracy of *Florence*; " but, as ſoon as Fortune turned her Back upon them, " and he found they were not inclined to ſee him " uſurp the Dutchy of *Urbino*, and inveſt his Nephew " with it, he treated with the *French* upon that " Condition, and drew up the famous *Concordat*, in " which he baffled the Stratagems and long Expe- " rience of the Chancellor *du Prat*. He careſſed " *Francis* the Iſt, as long as that King was in a Con- " dition to do him Service; but no ſooner obtained " of him all he deſired, than he quitted him, to reunite " himſelf to *Charles* the Vth. He projected a new " League with him, to re-eſtabliſh the *Sforza's* in the " Dutchy of *Milan*. He ſucceeded in it better than " he expected, and conceived ſuch extreme Joy on the " News of his Succeſs, that it occaſioned his Death."

But, as to *Leo*'s Sentiments in Spirituals, *Bayle* has handed down a moſt unnatural Charge againſt him; tho' he ſays he will not vouch the Story, " That he " once ridiculed the whole *Chriſtian* Doctrine as a " mere Fable." The Tradition is, " That Secretary " *Bembo*, quoting a Paſſage out of the Goſpel, the " Pope anſwered him, *It was well known of old how*

" *beneficial this* Fable of Jeſus Chriſt *has been to us* " *and our Predeceſſors.* *

Dr. *Fiddes* ſays, " This Story, tho' we meet with " it in innumerable Books, is not founded upon one " good Authority. All the Teſtimonies concerning " it are to be reſolved into the original Calumny of " *Bayle*, who himſelf ſays nothing to ſupport a Teſti- " mony (ſaith a Modern Writer, who was far from " being in the Intereſt of *Popery*) manifeſtly excep- " tionable, ſince *Bayle* wrote in open War againſt the " Pope, and againſt all the *Roman* Church." And the Commentator on *Bayle* obſerves, " That no Tri- " bunal in the World would receive the Depoſitions " of ſuch a Witneſs, ſwearing that he has ſeen or " heard ſo or ſo; for when once the Perſon, againſt " whom he depoſes, does appear to be his Enemy, " the Challenges of the accuſed Party are declared " valid. Since Books of Controverſy then are Pieces " which the Parties produce in a Suit pleaded be- " fore the Publick, it is certain that the Teſtimony of " a *Proteſtant* Diſputant, upon a Fact which reflects " upon the Pope, or the Teſtimony of a *Popiſh* Diſ- " putant on a Fact reflecting upon the Reformers, " ought to be reckoned as nothing. The Publick, " which is Judge of the Proceſs, ought to reject all " theſe Teſtimonies, and have no more Regard to " them, than if they had never happened. Private " Perſons are permitted, if once perſuaded of *Bayle*'s " Probity, to believe what he affirmeth, but they " ought to keep their Perſuaſions to themſelves, and " not to produce it to publick View, as a judicial " Proof againſt their Adverſaries, † which in my Opi- " nion is a Thing not ſufficiently obſerved." Even *Bayle* himſelf, in the Concluſion of his Account of *Leo* the Xth ſays, " Men of Letters, of what Religion " or

* *Quanta nobis noſtriſque, ea de Chriſto Fabula, præfuerit; ſatis eſt omnibus ſeculis notum.* Vide *Bayle*'s Dictionary.

† This has often been the Cardinal's Fate.

" or Nation ſoever, are bound to praiſe and bleſs the " Memory of this Pope, for the Care he took to re- " cover the Manuſcripts of the Antients, and ſpared " neither Pains nor Coſt in ſearching for them, and " procuring very good Editions of them." And, as Vouchers of *Leo*'s Zeal, for encouraging Learning, he produces the two following Letters, * which ſhew his

* " *To our Venerable Brother,* ALBERT, *Archbiſhop of* Mentz " *and* Magdeburg, *Adminiſtrator of* Halberſtadt, *Electoral* " *Prince and Primate of* Germany, *Health and Apoſtolical* " *Benediction.*

" *Venerable Brother,*

" WE ſend our beloved Son, " *John Heytmers de Zonvelben,* Eccleſiaſtick of the Dio- " ceſe of *Liege,* Commiſſary of " the Apoſtolick See to the illuſ- " trious Nations of *Germany, Den-* " *mark, Sweden, Norway* and " *Gothland,* to ſearch for valu- " able and antient Books, that " have been buried thro' the In- " jury of Time, in which Buſi- " neſs we ſpare no Expence, that, " as we have determined, from " the very Beginning of our " Pontificate, *ſolely, with a De-* " *ſign to promote the Honour and* " *Glory of the moſt High, we may, by God's Aſſiſtance, cheriſh, pro-* " *mote, and ſerve famous Men of* " *all ſorts, eſpecially the Learned.* " We have been informed, that, " of the ſaid antient Books, there " are not a few in Poſſeſſion of " your Fraternity, or in the " Places ſubject to your Juriſdic- " tion, eſpecially relating to the " *Roman* Hiſtory. Wherefore, in- " tending to procure the Publi- " cation of as many ſuch Books " as can come to our Hands, for " the common Good of all learn- " ed Men, we affectionately ex- " hort your Fraternity, and ear- " neſtly intreat you in the Lord, " that you would now do us the " Favour of tranſmitting to us, as " ſoon as poſſible, fair and cor- " rect Copies of all thoſe Books, " or, which we rather wiſh, the " Books themſelves, which ſhall " be returned you as ſoon as tran- " ſcribed here, according to the " Obligation to be drawn up by " our Apoſtolical Chamber, or " ſuch as the ſaid *John,* our Com- " miſſary, Bearer of theſe Pre- " ſents, ſufficiently inſtructed for " that Purpoſe, ſhall think fit to " draw up in the Name of the " ſaid Chamber. And, becauſe " the ſaid *John* has promiſed, in " a ſhort Time, to give us the " thirty-third Book of *Livy*'s " Hiſtory of the *Macedonian* " War, we have commiſſioned " him to give it into your Fra- " ternity's Hands, to be tranſ- " mitted as ſoon as poſſible, by a " faithful Meſſenger, to us, or to " our beloved Son, *Philip Bero-* " *aldus,* Librarian of our Apo- " ſtolical Palace. But, becauſe " we have ordered to be paid

his Holineſs not only to have been what Mr. *Bayle* mentions, but that he had a good deal of the true Chriſtian in him.

Mr. *Pope* alſo celebrates the Reign of this Prince in Reſpect to his encouraging Learning.

But

' here in the City, to the ſaid ' *John*, a certain Sum of Money, ' and are indebted to him a cer- ' tain Quantity for Expences ' already made, and ſhall be ' further indebted for ſuch as ' are to be made, we Will, Au- ' thoriſe, and Command your ' Fraternity, after he ſhall have ' received the ſaid Book of ' *Livy*, to pay, or cauſe to be ' paid, to the ſaid *John* 147 ' Gold Ducats of the Chamber, ' out of the Money ariſing from ' *Indulgences*, granted thro' thoſe ' Provinces, in favour of the ' Royal Fabrick of the Prince ' of the Apoſtles; which Sum ' we will allow in the Accounts ' between your Fraternity and ' the Apoſtolical Chamber, as at ' preſent we do allow. You ' are likewiſe to aſſiſt the ſaid ' *John* with ſafe Conducts, Let- ' ters, and Aids, and help him ' thro' your Provinces in com- ' ing at Books; and, if Occaſion ' be, engage your Word for ' him, that the Books ſhall be ' returned within a certain Time, ' and ſent back to their Places. ' Which if your Fraternity ſhall ' do, as we are fully perſuaded ' you will, you will acquire a ' great Reputation among learn- ' ed Men, and perform a Thing ' the moſt acceptable to us.

' *Given at* St. Peter's *in* Rome, ' *ſealed with the Fiſherman's* ' *Ring*, Nov. 26, 1517, *in* ' *the fifth Year of our Pon-* ' *tificate*

' JA. SADALET.'

'*To our Venerable Brother*, Albert, ' *Archbiſhop of* Mentz, *&c.*

' *Beloved Son*,

' OUR beloved Son, *John* ' *Heytmers de Zobvenben*, ' &c. has informed us, that he ' has received Letters from a ' certain Perſon, whom he had ' appointed for that Purpoſe, in ' which he acquaints him, that ' he had found in your Library ' an antient Book, containing ' all the Decads of *Livy*, and ' that he had obtained your ' Leave to tranſcribe them, not ' being allowed to have the ori- ' ginal Book, We commend ' your Humanity and Obedience ' to the Apoſtolical See. But, ' my beloved Sons, we reſolved ' from the Beginning of our Pon- ' tificate, *to promote and favour*, ' *with God's Aſſiſtance, all Men* ' *of Merit, eſpecially all learned* ' *Men*. With this View we pro- ' cure theſe kind of antient ' Books, ſo much wanted, as ' many as can come to our ' Hands, to be firſt corrected by ' very learned Men, of which ' there are many, by the Gift ' of God in our Court, and ' afterwards to be carefully print- ' ed for the common Benefit of ' the learned. But if we have ' not the Originals themſelves,

' our

But ſee! each Muſe, in LEO's *golden Days,*
Starts from her Trance, and trims her wither'd Bays!
Rome's antient Genius, o'er it's Ruins ſpread,
Shakes off the Duſt, and rears his rev'rend Head;
Then Sculpture and her Siſter-arts revive;
Stones leap'd to form, and Rocks began to live;
With ſweeter Notes each riſing Temple rung;
A RAPHAEL *painted, and a* VIDA * *ſung.*

Im-

'our Deſign will not be fully 'anſwered, becauſe the Copies 'of theſe Books only being ſeen, 'they cannot be publiſhed cor-'rectly. We have given Orders 'in our Apoſtolical Chamber, 'that a ſufficient Security be given 'that theſe Books ſhall be re-'ſtored whole and uninjured to 'their Owners, as ſoon as they 'ſhall have been here tranſcribed; 'and the ſaid *John*, whom we 'have again deputed as Com-'miſſary for the aforeſaid Pur-'poſe, has a ſufficient Order 'from the ſame Chamber, to 'oblige it to the ſaid Reſti-'tution, in the Manner and 'Form he ſhall think proper. 'We only aim at the Benefit 'and Advantage of learned Men; 'of which our beloved Sons, 'the Abbot and Convent of the 'Monaſtery of *Corvey*, of the 'Order of *St. Benedict* of *Pader-'born*, are ample Witneſſes; for, 'when the five firſt Books of the 'Roman Hiſtory of *Cornelius Ta-'citus* were ſtolen out of their 'Library, and through many 'Hands came at laſt into ours, 'we took care firſt to have 'them corrected by the learned 'Men reſiding in our Court, 'and were at the Expence of 'printing them with the reſt of 'the Works which were extant 'of the ſaid *Tacitus*. Afterwards, 'the Matter being diſcovered, 'we ſent one of the Volumes of 'the ſaid *Tacitus*, corrected, 'printed, and handſomely bound 'to the ſaid *Abbot* and Monaſte-'ry of *Corvey*, to be placed in 'their Library, in the room of 'that which was ſtolen. And, 'that they might know, that 'this Theft turned rather to their 'Advantage than Diſadvantage, 'we ſent them a perpetual In-'dulgence for the Church of 'their Monaſtery. Wherefore 'with the utmoſt Affection, and 'in Virtue of Holy Obedience, 'we exhort, and, with ſincere 'Charity in the Lord, re-'quire you and any of you, to 'admit the ſaid *John* into your 'Library, and ſuffer him to 'tranſmit from thence to us 'both the ſaid Book of *Livy*, 'and others that he ſhall think 'proper, which ſhall be returned 'you by us together with no 'common Reward."

'*Given at St.* Peter's *in* Rome, '*ſealed with the Fiſherman's* '*Ring, on the 1ſt of* Dec. 1517, '*in the 5th Year of our Ponti-'ficate.*

'JA. SADALET.'

* *Hieronymus Vida*, an excellent *Latin* Poet, who writ the *Art of Poetry* in Verſe, in *Leo* the Xth's Time.

Immortal VIDA! *on whoſe honour'd Brow,*
The Poet's Bays, and Critic's Foy grow.
CREMONA *now ſhall ever boaſt thy Name,*
And next in Place to MANTUA, *next in Fame!*

" It is in vain (ſays *Rapin*) to enquire, what In-
" tereſt *Henry* had to declare againſt *Francis*, and
" cauſe the Balance to incline to the Emperor's
" Side? No other can be found, but that the Car-
" dinal wanted to be Pope at *Francis*'s Coſt! The
" Death of *Leo* the Xth, haſtened by Poiſon, as
" ſeveral affirm, and happening during theſe Tranſ-
" actions, has made ſome People *ſuſpect*, that *Wolſey*
" was concerned in it." We ſhall leave our Reader to judge of the good Reaſoning, as well as Temper of the Man in this Suggeſtion, by what we have juſt related.

Wolſey puts in for the Apoſtolick Chair. 1522.

CARDINAL *Wolſey*, upon the Death of Pope *Leo*, thought he had a fair Opportunity of ſtanding Candidate for the Papal Chair, and immediately ſent Secretary *Pace* to *Rome* with proper Inſtructions; he wrote alſo to the Emperor, reminding him of his Promiſe, and repreſenting, " how unreaſonably it would appear in the Eye
" of the World, ſhould he openly have a Pope of his
" own Nomination: That ſo many Affairs, wherein
" he was perſonally intereſted, were to be laid be-
" fore the Conſiſtory, that too great an Influence
" on its Proceedings would be juſtly ſuſpected:
" That the particular Advantage he might reap
" thereby would not be equivalent to the Injury the
" *Chriſtian* Church might ſuſtain by an over-ruled
" Election: That all the Ends, he could propoſe
" from influencing the Choice, might be attained
" in a more ſafe and honourable Way: That, if
" himſelf ſhould be preferred to the Papacy, his
" Majeſty might be aſſured of the ſame Fidelity
" and Zeal for his Service, which he had ſtrong

" Inſtances

" Inſtances of in his Conduct at the late Treaty:
" That, ſince this was the more reputable and ſalu-
" tary Expedient, he hoped his Imperial Majeſty
" would approve it: That as the King of *England*
" claimed a Right of being *Arbiter of Chriſtendom*,
" it would be then his Part to be inſtrumental
" towards the Exerciſe of that Right: That he
" ſhould be always ready to diſpoſe his Royal
" Maſter to the beſt Offices, and the ſtricteſt Cor-
" reſpondence with his Imperial Majeſty: That, upon
" his being made Pope, he ſhould have no Cauſe
" to alter his Sentiments or Language, it being evi-
" dent, that the only Way to prefer the Peace of
" *Italy*, which King *Henry* deſired, was to aſſert and
" maintain in it the Emperor's Authority."

Pace was alſo inſtructed to impart ſome of theſe Reaſons to the Cardinals at *Rome*; and further to urge, " That, if a Perſon in the Intereſt of the
" Emperor or King of *France* was elected, the Dif-
" ferences between theſe two Powers would be ren-
" dered more irreconcileable; neither was it conve-
" nient that any *Italian* ſhould be preferred to the
" Papacy, who, being of a more narrow Fortune,
" and not well ſupported by Alliance, could not be
" capable to maintain the Honour, Rights and Dignity
" of the Triple Crown. That the beſt Expedient, in
" order to prevent theſe Inconveniences, would be to
" chuſe one who might be ſupported by a Prince both
" able and willing, in thoſe dangerous Times, to de-
" fend and aſſert the Cauſe of Religion."

Neither did *Wolſey* neglect the King of *France*, but promiſed him, " That, in Caſe he ſhould be elected
" Pope, ſuch friendly and equitable Treatment, that he
" could not expect from any other Quarter."

But, before *Pace* arrived at *Rome*, the Election was over, and *Adrian*, Biſhop of *Tortoſa*, choſen Pope: And, though *Wolſey* loſt the Election, he had, on different Scrutinies, nine, twelve, and nineteen Voices. And *Rapin* himſelf ſays, " That the Emperor was

" much

" much embarraſſed in relation to *Wolſey*. He had " promiſed to uſe all his Intereſt in his Favour, tho' " nothing was further from his Thoughts; for it " was the Emperor's Intereſt to have a Pope at his " Devotion, and he knew *Wolſey* too well, to imagine " ſuch a Pope would be guided by his Counſels; yet, " if he oppoſed *Wolſey*, and deceived him, he was " afraid of drawing his Maſter upon him. Where- " fore the Emperor concealed his Deſigns, and was " ſo faithfully ſerved in the Conclave, that they " could not be diſcovered. One Day, as the Car- " dinals met to make a Scrutiny, ſome one propoſed " Cardinal *Adrian*, and at the ſame time enlarged " upon his great Qualities, and the Advantages that " would accrue to the Church by his Promotion; " whereupon they, who were of the Emperor's Party, " voted one after another for *Adrian*; and the reſt, " ſeeing two Thirds of the Voices for *Adrian*, voted " the ſame Way, leſt a fruitleſs Oppoſition might " turn to their Prejudice. Thus the Election was at " laſt made by unanimous Conſent."

The Author of the *Church Hiſtory of* ENGLAND, from the Year 1500 to the Year 1688, relates, " That *Wolſey*'s Agents have given us ſeveral Rea- " ſons, why their Maſter's Intereſt was not purſued " on this Occaſion by the Cardinals. In the firſt " Place, he was thought too young, and not ſuffi- " ciently experienced in Matters relating to the whole " Church: That he had too great an Influence over " the King, which might prove very detrimental to " the Church, in Caſe of national Quarrels. That " the *Italians* had no perſonal Acquaintance with " Cardinal *Wolſey*, and he was an entire Stranger to " their Methods, having never been at *Rome*. That " it was the Rule, commonly obſerved among the " *Romans*, to prefer one whom they had ſome Intimacy " with. This is the Subſtance of what the Cardi- " nal's Friends at *Rome* could pick out from thoſe

" who

" who pretended to be in the *Secret* of the *Con-*
" *clave.* However, many were of Opinion, that,
" had *Wolsey* appeared there himself, he could not
" have failed of gaining his Point."

The new Pope,* who assumed the Name of *Adrian* the VIth, had been Preceptor to the Emperor; upon whose Recommendation he was made Cardinal, and, at the Time of the Election, was Regent in *Spain*; which Trust he discharged with high Reputation. *Adrian the VIth, Pope.*

Pope *Adrian* raised himself purely by his Merit, from a low, obscure, and indigent Condition, to very honourable and great Preferments, and at last to this greatest in the Church. His Parents were of such mean Circumstances, as not to be able to bear the Expence of maintaining him at School: He was a Person of simple Manners; a Stranger to those intriguing Arts and bold Methods of intruding themselves upon the World, by which worthless, and sometimes very ignorant Persons have made their Way to the first Stations in Life.

He had the Character, after his Election, rather of a virtuous Man, and an able Divine, than a good Pope. The People of *Rome* were much enraged, that

* The Place, where the Cardinals elect the Pope, is called the *Conclave*, and is in the *Vatican*, where there is a long Gallery full of *Cells*, for which the Cardinals cast Lots. On the 10th Day (the Pope being buried on the 9th after his Decease) each Cardinal goes to his *Cell*, and are shut up in the *Conclave* with only one Servant, who is called a *Conclaviſt*, but each has a Secretary to attend them, and carry their Messages, and manage their Intrigues. The Outside of the *Conclave* is guarded by Soldiers Morning and Evening. The Cardinals meet in the Chapel, and a Person reads over the Name of the Candidate that the Cardinals vote for, and counts the Number of Voices: This they do every Day, till two Thirds vote for one Person.

The Court of *Rome* at present consists of the Pope and 70 Cardinals, *viz.* 50 Cardinal Priests, 14 Cardinal Deacons, and 6 Cardinal Bishops, who are for the most Part of the Pope's Privy Council.

that the Election was fallen upon a Perſon ſo little known, and a Foreigner; and, after they found, that the Pope affected a Simplicity of Life, and ſhewed an Averſion to Pomp and all kind of Luxury, their Rage encreaſed.

Pace, tho' he heard by the way that *Adrian* was choſen Pope, continued his Journey to *Rome*, it being but *January* when *Adrian* was elected, yet his Holineſs made it *Midſummer* before he got thither; however, on his Arrival, *Pace* congratulated the new Pope in Cardinal *Wolſey*'s Name: And now we are mentioning *Pace*, tho' it be a little out of Seaſon, permit us to introduce the under-inſerted Letter, * in order to alleviate

* R. PACE *to the* CARDINAL, *upon the Death of* BAYNBRIDGE.

" *Moſt Rev. Father in God*,

" AFTER moſt humble Commendations, becauſe I " would not trouble your Grace " with many Words in our miſe- " rable and tedious Matter, of " the Poiſoning of my late Lord " Cardinal, I have deſired Mr. " *Burbank*, to whom I have " written at large, for to certify " your Grace of all the Proceſs " in the ſaid Matter hitherto. " One other Thing I have to ad- " vertiſe your Grace of, which is " of Importance, and greatly " touching your Grace's Honour. " I have been lately advertiſed " ſecretly by three great Perſons, " and one of them that the Pope's " Holineſs doth moſt truſt in his " moſt ſecret Cauſes, That the " Pope's ſaid Holineſs did make " Inquiſition of them all three, of " your Grace's Qualities; ſigni- " fying unto them, that they did " labour in *England* for to make " your Grace a Cardinal, which " Thing I would be glad to ſee, " not only for your Grace's pri- " vate Honour, but alſo for the " common both Honour and " Profit of the whole Realm: " For, I aſſure you, my Lord, it " is neceſſary for the King's " Grace to have one or two, if " need were, Cardinals, and re- " ſident in the Court of *Rome*, " both for Knowledge of all " Things that ſhall ſucceed here, " and alſo for the Creation of " Popes, which Thing is of great " Importance to thoſe Princes, " by whoſe Means they be creat- " ed, as they might be by our " *Moſt Chriſtian* King, as well " as other Princes, if he had " ſome Cardinals in this Court, " as others have. My Lord, I " cannot tell whether your Grace " hath attempted any ſuch thing " or no, neither will I preſume " to know it; but, if I had any " Certainty thereof, I could right " well ſhew unto you what Per- " ſons

alleviate a little the Charge againſt *Wolſey*, of having overacted his Part with reſpect to his *getting himſelf made a Cardinal.*

It is remarkable, that *Wolſey*, notwithſtanding he loſt the Election, and the Emperor had broke his Word with him, ſhewed no Reſentment, and, probably, thought it more eligible to conceal it, that he might ſtand the fairer for the next Vacancy, which then ſeemed not at any great Diſtance, the new Pope being both old and infirm.

Daniel, upon *Adrian*'s Election, remarks, "Never "was a Prince's Preceptor better rewarded for the "Services he had done his Scholar, (*Charles* the Vth) "than this Cardinal, who arrived all at once, and "without thinking of it, at that to which all the In-"trigues of *Lewis* the XIIth, notwithſtanding ſo "many favourable Circumſtances, could not advance "Cardinal *Amboiſe*."

Affairs of Italy. 1522.

The News of *Adrian*'s being elected Pope, made the *French* King very uneaſy; for which Reaſon, the Beginning of this Year, the Defence of his States in *Italy* became one of the principal Objects of his Care, for which End he procured 10,000 freſh Troops from the *Swiſs*, and ſent them immediately to the Aſſiſtance of Marſhal *Lautrec*; and though the King had ordered him 400,000 Crowns by the Way of *Genoa*, yet no Money was ſent him. In the mean time *Francis Sforza* was coming in Perſon to

'ſons in this Court be moſt meet 'to bring it to paſs, and who 'may moſt let it, if they be not 'made Friends. For that In-'tent, nothing moved me thus 'to write unto your Grace but 'only Love and Fidelity, and 'that I am marveloufly deſirous 'to ſee my late Maſter's Succeſ-'ſor no leſs in Dignity than he 'was, as knoweth God, who 'preſerve your Grace in long 'Health and continual Proſpe-'rity.

'From *Rome* the 25th of '*September*, by your Grace's 'moſt faithful Servant and 'Beadman,

'RICHARD PACE.'

See the Original in the *Exchequer* Record-office, in *Weſtminſter Abbey.*

take Poſſeſſion of the Dutchy of *Milan*; and the approaching Arrival of this young Prince could not but give Marſhal *Lautrec* a deal of Uneaſineſs, upon Account of the People's Affection for the *Sforza* Family, their antient Governors. However, he was reſolved to oppoſe him, and for that Purpoſe advanced towards *Milan*. It has been obſerved, that *that* City always ſurrendered to the Strongeſt, for fear of being plundered; and that the Caſtle was ever the Retreat for him who was obliged to abandon the Town.

The chief Buſineſs now in hand was, for *Lautrec* to ſuccour the Caſtle, and take the City; and for *Colonna*, to prevent both; which laſt General had, during the Winter, not only very well fortified the Intrenchments within the City, but had likewiſe caſt up very ſtrong ones without it.

When *Lautrec* had taken a View of them, he gave over the Thoughts of the Attack, judging the Enterprize at that Time to be too hazardous for him to undertake; therefore, ſeeing there was nothing to be done on that Side, he reſolved to go and encamp at *Caſſano* upon the *Adda*, in hopes thereby to hinder Duke *Francis Sforza*'s paſſing it, and getting into *Milan*, who was then marching thro' the *Terntin* at the Head of 6000 *Lauſquenets*.

The *Venetians*, at this very Juncture, joined the *French*, and *Lautrec* received new Reinforcements from *France*, ſo that now his Army was grown more numerous; yet he could by no means hinder *Sforza*'s paſſing the River, and entering *Milan*, where he was received by the Inhabitants with the greateſt Joy imaginable.

Lautrec next attempted to ſurprize *Pavia*, in which he alſo miſcarried. Then he marched to *Marignan*, and, having paſſed within Sight of *Milan*, he went and poſted himſelf at the little Town of *Monza*.

Colonna, ſeeing the *French* ſo near *Milan*, advanced towards it himſelf, and encamped between that Capital

tal and *Monza* in *Bicoque*. This Place is famous for the bloody Battle that was fought there, which is nothing but a Caſtle in a Park of a very large Compaſs, where the old Dukes of *Milan* took the Diverſion of Hunting. It was a compleat Camp ready made, in which the Enemy's Army would find Difficulties almoſt inſurmountable to make a Lodgment, its Situation was ſo very advantageous, and but a League diſtant from *Milan*; it was alſo incloſed on all Sides with ſtrong Walls, and a deep Ditch. The *Swiſs* not having received any Money for a long Time, their General Officers came to Marſhal *Lautrec*, and declared, they were reſolved to return into their own Country. *Lautrec* uſed Remonſtrances and Requeſts, but in vain; for their laſt Anſwer was, "Either Mo-"ney, Diſcharge, or to give Battle on the Morrow, "if he thought proper, and if he did not, they would "be gone on the next Day." *Lautrec*, in this Neceſſity, promiſed to head them on the next Day; and they accordingly diſpoſed themſelves for fighting in the Morning.

Monſieur *Montmorency* put himſelf at the Head of the *Swiſs*, who were to make the firſt Attack, and were ſo impatient to engage, that, notwithſtanding all the Arguments this Commander could uſe, to prevail with them to ſtay for their Cannon that was behind, and which they would have Occaſion for, to anſwer that of the Enemy, and deſtroy Part of the Fortification of the Camp, they forced him to advance and to begin the Charge.

As ſoon as they were come within Reach of the Enemy's Cannon, they received ſuch terrible Vollies from them, that above 1000 of the *Swiſs* were taken off. However, they ſuſtained this Fire with ſurprizing Intrepidity, and threw themſelves headlong into the Ditches: But, when they looked about on all Sides to ſee which Way they ſhould climb up the Intrenchments, they found them every where ſo high, that

that they could but juſt touch the Top of them with the Ends of their Pikes.

Here it was that a terrible Slaughter was made by the Cannon of the Enemy; not one Shot of which was loſt in this Multitude of Soldiers in Diſorder. *Albert de la Piene*, their Commander, and 22 Officers, were killed upon the Spot, and no leſs than eight *French* Counts were alſo ſlain. *Montmorency* was ſtruck to the Ground by a Blow that ſtunned him, without hurting him otherwiſe, and was drawn from under the Heaps of Slain, where he muſt inevitably have been ſuffocated, had he not been timely relieved. There were 3000 *Swiſs* killed in this Engagement, and thoſe that remained conſented to retire out of the Reach of the Cannon.

In the mean time *Leſcut*, now ſtiled Marſhal *du Foix*, at the Head of 300 Soldiers and two *Italian* and *French* Battalions, had ſtormed a Stone-bridge, which was the very Entrance into the Enemy's Camp, and had made himſelf Maſter of that Paſſage.

Lautrec, having ſome hopes of ſucceeding at this Place, propoſed to the *Swiſs* to march thither, but they refuſed; and *du Foix*, being overpowered, was forced to quit this Poſt. After having loſt a great many Soldiers they ſounded a Retreat, in which the Prudence and Valour of *Crequi*, Lord of *Pontdormi*, who commanded the *Corps de Reſerve*, ſaved the reſt of the Army; for, by the Diſcouragement of the *Swiſs*, it would have been infallibly diſperſed, if he had not ſtopped the Enemy, who came out in great Numbers to purſue them.

Notwithſtanding all *Lautrec*'s Perſuaſions, the *Swiſs* perſiſted in their Reſolution, and the *Tueſday* after *Low-Sunday*, which was two Days after the Battle, they began to march homewards.

By their drawing off *Lautrec* loſt half his Army; a few Days after the Marquis of *Peſcara* ſurpriſed *Lodi*; a new Misfortune alſo happened, for the Bridge, which

which the *French* had made over the *Adda*, having been broke down, 5000 of their Foot and 300 Horſe were ſtopped, and forced to ſurrender themſelves to the Enemy.

The *Venetians*, who had eſpouſed the *French* Cauſe, obſerving, that *Francis*'s Army was almoſt deſtroyed, began to treat, in order to make a ſeparate Peace with the Emperor; into whoſe Hands, in a ſhort Time, all the *Milaneſe* fell, except three Places, as will be ſoon ſeen. *Lautrec*, ſeeing all his Affairs quite diſconcerted, by ſo many Misfortunes, now began to think of returning into *France*, after having exhorted the Commanders of the Caſtles at *Milan*, *Novara*, and another Place that remained in the Hands of the *French*, to be faithful to their Truſts. He ſet out attended only by two Servants, and, having travelled in Diſguiſe through the *Swiſs* Cantons, he arrived at Court; where he could hardly expect to be well received, having, among many good Actions, committed ſome great Faults; and uſually bad Succeſs makes the latter to be remembred, and the former to be forgot. The King, at firſt, refuſed to admit him into his Preſence, and, with much Difficulty, was at laſt prevailed on, which he did purely to have the greater Opportunity of publickly condemning him, from what he ſhould there utter.

Lautrec was accordingly introduced to his Majeſty in full Council, and as ſoon as the King ſaw him, he frowned upon him: But *Lautrec*, nothing daunted, begun his Speech, with complaining of the Uſage he had received for his faithful Services: And the King ſternly anſwered, "That a Man, who had loſt, in "one Campaign, all the Conqueſts he had made in "*Italy*, deſerved no better Treatment." To which *Lautrec* replied, without any ſeeming Concern, "That "it was an eaſy Thing to know, who had been the "Cauſe of all the Miſchief." *Francis*, imagining that he would lay the Blame upon himſelf, aſked him

him after a ſcornful Manner, " Whether he had not " received the four hundred thouſand Crowns, that " were ordered him by the Way of *Genoa?*" To this *Lautrec* anſwered, " He had received Letters of " Advice, that the Money ſhould be ſent him, but " never had received a Farthing of it;" adding, with a reſolute Countenance, which no Way betokened Guilt," " That he had often wrote to his Majeſty, " how his Infantry, for the moſt Part compoſed of " Soldiers altogether mercenary, would infallibly de- " ſert, if they were not paid by ſuch a Time. That " the *French* Cavalry, loyal and conſtant beyond Ex- " preſſion, had ſerved 18 Months without receiving " ſo much as one Muſter; but that the *Swiſs*, who " were no Subjects of *France*, did not think them- " ſelves bound to follow their Example. That he " led the Remainder of his Army where he expected it " would have been ſupplied; but the *Venetians* grew " weary of furniſhing them, and had ſent him Word, " that they were no more obliged to take Care of " *Milan*, than the moſt Chriſtian King, who totally " neglected it." This Meſſage, ſays he, " made me " diſlodge without Sound of Trumpet, leſt I ſhould " have been ſtopped, and delivered up to the Ene- " my, in hopes of making their Peace." The King was aſtoniſhed at this Account, and inter- rupted *Lautrec*, telling him, " That he could not " but acknowledge the Receipt of the three hundred " thouſand Crowns, that his Treaſurer had undertaken, " in his Preſence, to pay at *Milan*." To this *Lautrec* replied, " That he had not received a Penny of the " one or the other Sum;" which put the King into a Paſſion no leſs juſt than violent. *Semblancay* the Treaſurer was ſent for. The King, in the mean while, told *Lautrec* after an inſulting Manner; " That *Co-* " *lonna* was no better aſſiſted with Men and Money " than he had been, yet he had poſſeſſed himſelf of the " moſt Part of the *Milaneſe*; and, therefore, why " could

" could not he have found a Way to have kept his " Ground and defended himſelf, without Money, " which was the eaſier Thing of the two?" *Lautrec* modeſtly anſwered, " That, to make the Com- " pariſon true, it was requiſite the *Milaneſe* ſhould " have no more Friendſhip for one Party than the " other, which might have ſo fallen out in the Reign " of *Lewis* the XIIth, when the *French*, being ex- " actly paid, lived quietly and peaceably amongſt them. " But the Army being grown licentious, for want of " Pay, the *Italians* had conceived ſuch a Hatred for " them, that was only to be ſatisfied by tearing " out their very Hearts, as had happened at *Novara* " and other Places."

Immediately, upon theſe Words, the Treaſurer came into the Council-chamber; and the King aſked him, " Why he had not paid *Lautrec* the Money he " had ſo abſolutely promiſed in his Preſence?" The Treaſurer anſwered, " That the ſame Day, the Aſ- " ſignation for *Milan* was drawn up, his Majeſty's " Mother came to the Treaſury, and demanded " Payment of all that was then due to her, as " well for Penſions as Gratifications. That he had " repreſented to her, that, by paying away ſo great " a Sum, the Royal Treaſury woud be ſo exhauſt- " ed, that there would not be Money left to pay " what was appointed for the Dutchy of *Milan*, " which would be contrary to what the King had " ordered that very Morning in her Hearing, and " to which ſhe had conſented; yet the Princeſs con- " tinued obſtinate in her Pretenſions, and threatned to " ruin him, if he did not let her have what ſhe de- " manded: And, whereas he declared to her, that it " was as much as his Head was worth, if *Lautrec* " did not find the Money ready upon his Arrival at " *Milan*; ſhe replied, ſhe had Credit enough with " the King to ſecure him from any Proſecution; " and that, if he ſhould be called to an Account,

" for the Payment of the Money another Way, that " was deſigned for *Italy*, he ſhould ſay, it was done " by her Order."

The King, to clear the Diſpute ſent for his Mother; and the Treaſurer repeated in her Hearing what he had ſaid, which put her into ſuch a Rage, that ſhe told the Treaſurer, " That he lied; and demanded Juſtice " of the King againſt a hair-brained Fellow, that " went about to make her guilty of High-Treaſon:" But, in regard the Treaſurer had her Receipt for the Money, ſhe confeſſed, " That ſhe demanded Payment " of her Penſions;" but ſhe ſtood it out, " That the " Treaſurer, when he paid her the Money, never told " her it was ordered for *Milan*;" and denied all the reſt *Semblancay* had ſaid, and demanded his Impriſonment with ſo much Heat, that the King was forced to cauſe him to be arreſted in the Anti-chamber.

The Affair being thus cleared up, it appeared, that *Lautrec* was innocent; but the Treaſurer was tried for the Offence, condemned to Death, and publickly executed. And the King never recovered the Places he had loſt in *Italy*. Theſe were the fatal Effects, which the Jealouſy of the King's Mother, leſt ſhe ſhould be ſupplanted by her Son's Miſtreſs, produced. But this was not all; this Princeſs * did a far more conſiderable Preju-

* As moſt of the Events abroad for ſeveral Years will turn on the Conſtable of *Bourbon*'s leaving the *French* Court, we ſhall here continue the Account of the Reaſons that induced him thereto.

The Duke of *Bourbon* was early taken notice of and beloved by the Counteſs of *Angouleſme*, the King's Mother. See Vol. II. fol. 360. However, he could not find in his Heart to love and marry a Woman that had a Son almoſt as old as himſelf. However, becauſe he had not a Revenue to ſupport the Luſtre of his Deſcent, and was not of a Humour to neglect any Thing he could lawfully come by, he correſponded with the Counteſs's Affections in ſuch a Manner, that ſhe might not deſpair of rendering him ſenſible of her Kindneſs. The Counteſs procured him the Command of the Army in *Guienne*, where he proved fortunate. He was alſo offered the Command of the Army

Prejudice to *France*, by her Tranſports againſt the Conſtable of *Bourbon*, whom ſhe conſtrained to depart the Kingdom, who then treated with the Enemies of the State, and was the principal Cauſe of the Miſfortunes that afterwards attended the *French* Affairs.

Lautrec's Army in *Italy*, which he refuſed. The Misfortune that had attended the Nobleman, who had that Command conferred upon him, (which we have juſt related) ſhewed his Judgment, and greatly raiſed his Reputation. The Counteſs, who ſaw the Care the *Conſtable* took of his Honour, and the Applauſe he gained thereby, made her deſirous to have him advanced to the chief Dignity of the Army, which he would certainly have obtained, had he not been conſtrained to eſpouſe, through an unavoidable Neceſſity, Intereſts oppoſite to thoſe of his Benefactreſs.

When King *Francis* had married *Claudia*, *Lewis* the XIIth's Daughter, the Counteſs, his Mother, aſſiſted in the Council, and quarrelled with the Dutcheſs of *Beaujeu*, who was Siſter-in-law to *Lewis* the XIIth, who had the chief Management of Affairs in *Charles* the VIIIth's Time, in which ſhe acquitted herſelf with great Reputation. See Vol. I. fol. 69. *Lewis*, perceiving theſe two Princeſſes embroiled, and not being able to reconcile them, choſe rather to declare for the Mother of his Son-in-law, than for the latter; whereupon the Dutcheſs quitted the Court.

This Lady, enraged at the Treatment ſhe had met with, made her greedily embrace the firſt Opportunity that offered itſelf for Revenge, which was on this Occaſion. Her Huſband died ſoon after he had gained the Succeſſion of *Bourbon*, and left one Daughter, named *Suſanna*. The *Conſtable* claimed the Eſtate left by the Dutcheſs's Huſband, from his being the eldeſt of the Houſe of *Bourbon*, by Virtue of an antient Entail, renewed from Time to Time between both the Houſes of *Bourbon*, and thereby veſted the Inheritance in the moſt remote Males, to the Prejudice of the neareſt Females. The Dutcheſs's Daughter, the young Princeſs, grounded her Right on the Law of the Kingdom, which never excluded the Daughters of the moſt illuſtrious Houſes, any more than the Daughters of the meaneſt Families, from the Inheritance of their Fathers, when they had not Brothers: And therefore ſome Perſons, who were equally Friends to both Parties, in order to avoid a Law-ſuit, propoſed a Match between the Claimants, which was the readier entertained by the Dutcheſs, in hopes, thereby, of mortifying the Counteſs, who, upon ſeveral Occaſions, had diſcovered her Affection for the *Conſtable*.

The *Conſtable*, on his Part, apprehending he ſhould meet with great Difficulty in ſecuring the Succeſſion of this Eſtate to himſelf.

Lautrec's Retreat from the *Milaneſe*, and the Fear that he would return ſoon with more Troops, made *Proſper Colonna* haſten the Siege of *Cremona*, which was garriſoned, for the moſt Part, by *Italians*; the Governors of which, not daring to truſt them, capitulated, and obliged himſelf to ſurrender the City, if it was not ſuccoured in three Months: But the Caſtle would not follow his Example. Soon after the Marquis of *Peſcara* ſurprized *Genoa*, which compleated the Ruin of

ſelf, approved of the Propoſal of his eſpouſing the young Princeſs. This put him upon aſking King *Francis*'s Leave to marry her, who readily conſented thereto, and thought this Match ſo neceſſary for the *Conſtable*, that he cauſed it to be concluded within 3 Days; and himſelf, with the principal Officers of the Crown, beſides 15 Biſhops, ſigned the Contract.

The Counteſs was highly ſurpriſed to hear of the ſudden Concluſion of this Match, by Reaſon ſhe was deprived of being Bride herſelf: But ſhe took all the Pains poſſible to ſtifle her Paſſion, tho' in vain; for at laſt ſhe thought ſhe had Cauſe ſufficient to exchange her *Love* for Hatred, which put her upon making Choice of the Duke of *Alençon*, the firſt Prince of the Blood, for the Inſtrument of her Revenge, and ſhe firſt ſhewed it upon this Occaſion.

Charles of *Bourbon*, by being Conſtable, had a Right to command the Van-guard of the Army.

On the other hand the Duke of *Alençon* claimed that Right, by being firſt Prince of the Blood. Soon after this Claim, an Army being ſent into *Flanders*, that Duke renewed his Pretenſions in reſpect to commanding the Van-guard thereof. The Counteſs begged of the King, her Son, to gratify him in his Deſire, for two Reaſons; firſt, becauſe, as ſhe alledged, the *Conſtable* would not be much concerned at it, the King not being reſolved to give Battle; the other, for that the Duke of *Alençon* would have no more than the Name of *Chieftain*, all Orders being to be given out by the Marſhal *de Chatillon*, who ſerved under him with the Title of Lieutenant-general. But ſhe was deceived in the firſt of her Conjectures; for the *Conſtable*, upon the firſt News of the Duke's being preferred in Prejudice to him, in the Heighth of his Reſentment, let fall ſome Words that reflected upon the Honour of the Counteſs; which, coming to her Ears, made very great Impreſſion; yet ſhe could not forbear loving the *Conſtable*, notwithſtanding the Affront.

Nothing could have touched a Man of War in ſo ſenſible a Part as that of unjuſtly depriving him of his Military Honours, by preferring the Duke of *Alençon*. A General Officer, tho' of an inferior Degree, who has ſerved long

of the *French* Affairs in *Italy*, they having now left only the Caſtles of *Milan*, *Novara*, and *Cremona*.

On this ſudden Change *Francis Sforza* took Poſſeſſion of the Dutchy of *Milan*, as Duke thereof.

And this was not the only Unhappineſs that attended the *French* this Year; they were alſo attacked on the Side of the *Pyrenees*; and the *Engliſh* were preparing to make a Deſcent upon *Picardy*. The Reſolution and Valour indeed of *James d' Aillon*, Lord of *Lude*, kept the *Spaniards* near a Year before *Fontarabia*,

long and faithfully, cannot eaſily bear to ſee the proper Rewards of his Service openly ſnatched away from him by an intruding Hand. Honour above all Things animates the Hero, and makes him enterprizing and reſolute: And therefore wiſe Princes have ever taken Care, by due Encouragements, to cultivate a General's Senſe of it; and a Failure of this one Point was attended with more fatal Conſequences to *Francis* the Iſt, than all the Miſcarriages of his Reign put together.

In the Month of *May*, 1522, the *Conſtable*'s Wife died in Childbed, leaving no Children behind her. Chancellor *du Prat*, upon the Death of this Lady, waited upon the Counteſs, with a Congratulation, wherein he told her, that Heaven had now opened her a Way to force the *Conſtable* to eſpouſe her Intereſt, by inſiſting ſhe was next Heireſs to the Deceaſed, in regard the Marriage Contract was defective, the *Conſtable*'s Lady not being of Age when ſhe ſigned it; and therefore, as the *Conſtable*'s Lady was Daughter of *Peter* of *Bourbon*, and the Counteſs was Daughter of that Duke's Siſter, ſhe was intitled to the Eſtate as the next Heir. The Counteſs was well pleaſed at receiving this Information, yet ſhe was reſolved not to inſiſt on her Title, till ſhe firſt ſaw how the *Conſtable*, upon the Death of his Wife, ſtood affected towards her.

The Counteſs, to fathom this Matter, made uſe of Admiral *Bonnivet*, who ſoon made ſome Propoſals to *Bourbon* to marry the Counteſs; nor did he forget to inform him what the Counteſs had lately diſcovered. The *Conſtable* received the Propoſal from the Admiral with great Indifference; and, being preſſed very much to give a poſitive Anſwer, he at laſt told the Admiral, "That he would never marry "her, and he did not doubt but "that he ſhould be able to main-"tain his Title to his Eſtate." When the Counteſs received this News, ſhe laboured all ſhe could to ſet the King her Son againſt him, which had ſo great an Effect, that from thence forward he was looked upon with an evil Eye at Court, which cauſed him to fall in with the King's Enemies, as will be ſoon ſeen.

rabia, notwithſtanding the Scarcity and Sickneſs that waſted his Garriſon: Tho' Marſhal *Chatillon* was ſent to his Aſſiſtance, he died on the Road, and his Staff was given to *Anne* of *Montmorency*, who was then upon a Negotiation at *Venice*. But Marſhal *Chabannes* took the Command of the Army, forced his Paſſage over the River *Audage*, notwithſtanding the *Spaniſh* Army was on the oppoſite Shore, put it to Flight, and raiſed the Siege of *Fontarabia* before the Year expired.

Affairs of France and England. 1522.

Francis the Iſt, having miſcarried in moſt of his Deſigns againſt the Emperor, took more than ordinary Pains to avoid a Rupture with *England*. Our Merchants had met with ill Treatment from the *French*, the Duke of *Albany* was returned to *Scotland*, (whom *Henry* inſiſted ſhould be deemed an Enemy to the States thereof) Cardinal *Wolſey* had declared *Francis* the Aggreſſor, reſpecting the War, and Sir *Thomas Cheney* ſucceeded *Fitz Williams*, as Ambaſſador in *France*, therefore *Francis* judged it was high Time for him to think of endeavouring to make up the Breaches between *France* and *England*.

"The *French* King, on his Part, ſays *Fiddes*, pro-
"teſted the Duke of *Albany* went into *Scotland* with-
"out his Knowledge, and contrary to his Will; there-
"fore he reſolved to diſcharge the Duke of all his
"Offices in *France*, and to confiſcate his Goods. As
"to the Article of declaring him an Enemy to the
"States of *Scotland*, his old Allies, he hoped the
"King of *England* would not require ſo hard a Con-
"dition of him; but he would ſend an Agent into
"*Scotland* to recall the Duke."

Our Ambaſſador had further Directions to order all the *Engliſh*, that were in the *French* Dominions, to return home. *Francis* being informed thereof, and it being the Fore-runner of a Rupture between the two Nations, ſent an Ambaſſador extraordinary to *England*, with Inſtructions to offer what Satisfaction they

they could reaſonably demand, and particularly for the Ships which had been taken from them by the *French*; to enter into a new Interview between the two Kings, as a Means of reconciling the Differences ſubſiſting between them.

Upon the Whole, whatever Conceſſions and Promiſes were made on the Part of *Francis* had no Effect on our Court; ſo that the *French* Ambaſſador returned home without ſucceeding in his Commiſſion.

But King *Francis* was ſtill very unwilling to enter into a War with *England*; for, though his Ambaſſadors were juſt returned from that Kingdom without ſucceeding in their Commiſſion, he thought proper to ſend another Ambaſſador, who was charged to remonſtrate againſt the Proceedings of the *Engliſh* Court, by laying before the King the Particulars wherein he had acted contrary to the Treaty ſubſiſting between the two Nations. To this Charge his Majeſty gave the Ambaſſador a very ſhort Anſwer; and therefore his Stay was as ſhort, for he returned home in leſs than a Week after his Arrival, whither he was followed without Delay by an Herald, who proclaimed War againſt *France*. That being done, *Henry* publiſhed his Reaſons for declaring War, and, among others, ſaid, "*Francis* had been the Aggreſſor, by attacking "the Emperor, and permitting the Duke of *Albany* to return to *Scotland*, contrary to his Engage- "ments."

England declares War againſt France.

King *Francis*, on this Occaſion, ordered the Effects of the *Engliſh* Merchants, at *Bourdeaux* and elſewhere, to be ſeized; and *Henry* in Return did the ſame by the *French* and *Scotch* Merchants in *London*, and even cauſed their Perſons to be impriſoned.

Francis, upon the War's being declared, not only refuſed to pay the Penſion claimed by *Henry*, in Conſideration of his having reſtored *Tournay*; but alſo detained the *French* Queen's Dowry, upon which the

French

French Hoſtages were kept under a more ſtrict, but not rigorous Confinement.

Affairs of England. 1522.

The Earl of *Surry*, on the 22d of *January*, returned into *England* from his Government of *Ireland*, wherein he was ſucceeded by *Peter Butler*, Earl of *Ormond*; and, about the latter End of this Year, *Surry* was made High Treaſurer.*

Dr. Tunſtal *made Biſhop of* London.

On the 19th of *Nov.* the learned Dr. *Tunſtal*, Doctor of Laws, and Keeper of the Privy Seal,† was preferred to the Biſhoprick

* The third great Officer of the Crown is the Lord High-Treaſurer, who is appointed not only by his Majeſty's delivering him a White Staff, but alſo by Letters Patent; though formerly this great Poſt was conferred by delivering of the *Keys*, or, as ſome will have it, the *Golden Keys*, of the Treaſury. After thoſe Letters Patent are paſſed the Broad Seal, at a certain Time preſixed, he goes to the Court of *Chancery*, and, on his Knees, before the Lord High Chancellor, he takes the Oath of his Office. Afterwards he goes to the Court of *Exchequer*, at the Bar of which he receives the Letters Patent, and then takes his Place in that Court. By his Office he has the Cuſtody of the King's Treaſure, and of Foreign and Domeſtick Records there depoſited; the Appointment of all Commiſſioners and other Officers, employed in collecting the Revenues of the Crown; and Power to let Leaſes; beſides other Privileges. Of late Years the Treaſury has been in Commiſſion; and the preſent Commiſſioners are, the Right Honourable *Spencer* Earl of *Wilmington*, the Right Hon. *Samuel Sandys*, Eſq; (who is alſo Chancellor and under Treaſurer) *George Compton*, Eſq; Sir *John Ruſhout*, Bart. and *Philip Gibbon*, Eſq.

† The Lord Privy Seal is the fifth great Officer, and his Place is of great Truſt and Skill. (See *Coke*'s Inſtitutes, fol. 55.) He is ſo called from the Privy Seal, which is in his Cuſtody, but he muſt not put it to any Grant without good Warrant under the King's Signet, nor with Warrant if contrary to Law and Cuſtom, or inconvenient, but muſt firſt acquaint his Majeſty therewith. This Seal is uſed by the King to all Charters, Grants, and Pardons ſigned by the him, before they come to the Great Seal; but no Writ can paſs this Seal that touches the Common Law. The Lord Privy Seal is, by Virtue of his Office, a Privy Counſellor and Chief Judge of the Court of *Requeſts*, when it ſhall be recontinued.

As to the Honour due to this great Officer and the Regard that ſhould be paid him, ſee the Statute of 2 *Rich.* II. The preſent Keeper of the Privy Seal, is the Right Hon. *John* Lord *Gower*.

To the R.t Reverend Father in GOD EDMUND

this PROSPECT *is most Humbly Inscribed by his*

MUND
his
Lord Bishop of London
Lords most Obed.t Hum.ble Serv.t
Joseph Grove.
The West View of St. Pauls Cathedral
before the Fire of London

ſhoprick of *London*, through the Recommendation of his great Friend, *Wolſey*, upon the Death of Dr. *Fitz James*, late Lord Biſhop thereof, and in the Month of *January* this Year he was conſecrated Biſhop of that See, being inſtalled with great Solemnity in the Cathedral of *St. Paul's*.*

Dr.

* *London*, in former Times, was the principal of the three Archbiſhopricks among the *Britons*: The Cathedral Church, dedicated to St. *Paul*, was firſt built on the ſame Scite, as ſome have imagined, where ſtood a Temple of *Diana*, by *Ethelbert*, the firſt chriſtened King of *Kent*, about the Year 610.

This Church ſuffered often by Fire; firſt in the Year 961, when it was burnt down and rebuilt again. The 2d time was in 1087 or 1088, when the whole City was near conſumed. But *Maurice*, elected Biſhop of *London* in 1087, began the Foundation of an elegant Structure, which was afterwards finiſhed: But neither by Biſhop *Maurice* nor his Succeſſor, *Richard de Belmeres*, though each of them filled the Chair 20 Years; yet the latter beſtowed the whole Revenues of his Biſhoprick on it.

However, after it was finiſhed, it was again ſet on fire, the 22d of *Dec.* 1135. But *Richard Fitzneale*, elected Biſhop of *London* in 1189, 1 *Rich.* I. repaired the Damage at no ſmall Expence.

Henry de Lacy, Earl of *Lincoln*, in 1251, and *Ralph de Baldock*, Dean of this Church, were great Benefactors to the new Work, which was paved about the Year 1312 with Marble. Three Years after a great Part of the Spire was taken down, and a new Croſs, with a Cupulo handſomely gilt, ſet on the Top of it. In the Croſs were put the Relicts of ſeveral Saints, by *Gilbert de Segrave*, who was elected Biſhop of *London*, 1313, but died three Years afterwards.

Another Fire happened on *Candlemas* Eve, 1444, occaſioned by Lightning, which ſo damaged the Church, that it was not fully repaired till 1462, and then a rich Vane, made of Copper gilt, was ſet up.

On the 4th of *June*, 1561, it was again ſet on fire by Lightning, when the whole Spire, all the Rafters of the Roof and Iſles, and every Thing that was conſumable, was burnt and conſumed in four Hours Time. Whereupon Queen *Elizabeth* ſent her Mandate to the Lord Mayor of *London*, commanding him to take ſome Method for the immediate Repair of the Damage, which, by the Bounty of the Queen, the Contributions of the City of *London*, the Clergy of the Province of *Canterbury* and others, was made good before *April*, 1566, at the Charge of 6700*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* ½, but the Steeple

Dr. *Fiddes*, in his Character of *Tunſtal*, ſays, "Though *Cuthbert Tunſtal*, Biſhop of *Durham*, vi-"gorouſly oppoſed the *Reformation*, and lived and "died in the Communion of the Church of *Rome*, "I acknowledge him to have been one of the greateſt "Ornaments of that Age; whether we conſider him "in the Capacity of a Gentleman, or a Scholar; of a "publick Miniſter, or an Eccleſiaſtick of the firſt "Order."

Sir Thomas More *introduced to the King's Service.*

Sir *Thomas More*, after his Ambaſſage to *Flanders*, continued in his Place in the City of *London*, and, by his Practice in the Law, gained at leaſt 400*l. per Annum*, being employed in almoſt all Cauſes of Importance. In ſhort, his Reputation every Day encreaſed, and his Pleading, with great Applauſe, the Pope's Right to a Ship ſeized at *Southampton*, the King

ple was let alone. After this, from 1631 to 1643, Biſhop *Laud*, Sir *Paul Pindar*, and others largely contributing, the whole Fabrick, except the Steeple, was repaired and beautified. The Sums received within that Time amounted to 101,330*l.* 4*s.* 8*d.* And then it appeared partly in the Taſte the View annexed exhibits.

But, in *Oct.* 1642, the Flames of Civil Diſſentions burſting out, in the Reign of unhappy K. *Charles* the Iſt, this glorious Work was ſtopped; and the Money, Goods and Materials given for the Repairing this Cathedral were ſeized by Order of the Parliament, the Body of the Church turned into Quarters for Horſes, and Part of the Choir, with the reſt of the Building Eaſtward, was in 1649, by a Partition-wall, converted into a Conventicle, and ſo it continued till the *Reſtoration*, when it reſumed its old Station, while the other Parts of the Church were repaired; which had been done, had not that moſt dreadful Fire broke out, on the 2d of *Sept.* 1666, that deſtroyed the whole Church.

Thus was this ſplendid Fabrick buried in Aſhes till King *Charles* the IId, in the 19th Year of his Reign, paſſed an Act of Parliament for Rebuilding it, and appropriated the Duty on Coals, *&c.* for that Purpoſe. By which Means, after the old Walls were pulled down, and the Rubbiſh taken away, the Foundation of the preſent beautiful Church was laid in 1675, which is now the compleateſt and moſt magnificent modern Building in *Europe*, and is ſo well known, that it needs not our Deſcription.

King was ſo pleaſed with it, that his Majeſty ordered Cardinal *Wolſey* to inſiſt on his entering into his Service, which Sir *Thomas*, in Obedience to the King's Royal Deſire, complied with, and in a handſome Manner quitted his Poſt in the City; at the ſame time aſſuring that great Body, that he ſhould always retain a grateful Senſe of the many Favours they had conferred on him. He was firſt made Maſter of the *Requeſts*, and ſoon after one of his Majeſty's Privy Council; and Mr. *Birch* tells us, * "That the King "admitted Sir *Thomas* into great Familiarity with him-"ſelf; and in 1520 he was made Treaſurer of the "*Exchequer*, ſo that he every Day gained more and "more Favour at Court."

The Emperor lands in England. 1522.

The Emperor, having ſettled his Affairs in *Germany* and *Flanders*, on the 20th of *May* ſet out for *Calais*, in order to proceed to *Spain*, propoſing firſt to pay a Viſit to the *Engliſh* Court; of which the King having had timely Notice, Cardinal *Wolſey*, by his Majeſty's Orders, attended by the Earl of *Derby*, thirty-ſix Knights, 100 Gentlemen, 8 Biſhops, 10 Abbots, and 30 Chaplains, all in Velvet and Sattin, with 700 Yeomen, ſet out for *Dover* on the 22d of *May*. In the mean time *Thomas Grey*, Marquis of *Dorſet*, Lord *De la War*, and a large Retinue of Knights and Gentlemen, were ſent to *Calais* to wait on the Emperor.

On the 26th of *May*, Cardinal *Wolſey* entered *Dover*, and the Emperor landing at the ſame Time, he received him in a moſt magnificent Manner; and King *Henry*, two Days after, came himſelf with a ſplendid Attendance, led by the Earl of *Shrewſbury*,

* This further refutes *Rapin*, where he ſays, "The *Privy-*"*Council were all the Favourite's* "*Creatures*;" for no one can ſay with ſo much as the Shadow of Truth, that Sir *Thomas More* was one of them. See Vol. II. fol. 286.

Lord Steward of his Houſhold.* From *Dover*, the Cardinal conducted the Emperor and the King firſt to *Greenwich*, and then to *London*; where the Royal Gueſt was received with all the Honour and Reſpect that poſſibly could be paid to a crowned Head.

On *Whitſunday* the Cardinal celebrated High Maſs at *St. Paul*'s, at which the Emperor and the King aſſiſted, and Dukes and other Lords of the firſt Diſtinction held Water to him, "which has been imputed to the "Cardinal (ſays *Fiddes*) as an Inſtance of the higheſt "Arrogancy by ſome Writers, who ſhould rather, by "the candid Rules of Judging, have interpreted this "Miniſtration of the Lords, on ſo ſolemn an Occa-"ſion, as an Act of Piety, in which it cannot dero-"gate from the Dignity of any Perſon to aſſiſt.

The

* The Lord *Steward of the Houſhold* has no formal Grant of his Place, but receives his Charge of the King in Perſon, and the White Staff with theſe following Words, SENESCHAL, TENEZ LA BATON DE NOTRE MAISON; *Seneſchal, keep the Staff of our Houſhold*. By which he is alſo Steward of the *Marſhalſea*, or Court of Houſhold, in which he is Judge of Life and Limb.

The Eſtate of all the King's Houſhold (except thoſe of his Chamber, the Chapel and the Stables) is wholly committed to him, to be ruled by his Diſcretion.

Whilſt he is preſent at Court, there ought to be no Removal of Officers, or other Perſons without his Command. He may, with the Advice of the *Board of Green-Cloth*, alter any Cuſtom, or introduce ſuch new ones as ſhall ſeem to be for the Honour of the King, and the Credit of his Majeſty's Houſhold: The preſent Lord Steward is his Grace *Lionel*, Duke of *Dorſet*.

Under the Lord Steward is the Treaſurer and the Cofferer of the Houſhold, who in his Abſence has Power, with the Comptroller and Steward of the *Marſhalſea*, by Virtue of their Office, to hear and determine Treaſons, Felonies, and other Offences, committed within the King's Palace. The preſent Treaſurer is the Right Hon. *Benjamin*, Earl *Fitz-Walter*.

Sir *William Stamford*, in his *Pleas of the Crown*, remarks, "That the Steward and Trea-"ſurer are great and choice "Perſonages, in whom the King "repoſes ſuch Truſt, that he "ordained them eſpecially for "the Safety and good Govern-"ment of his Realm and Houſ-"hold."

The Emperor and *Henry* at *London* (and not at *Bangor*, as *Rapin* alledges) entered into formal Treaties; the one for the Emperor to marry Princeſs *Mary*, the King's Daughter; the other, "That before the End "of *May*, 1523, the Emperor ſhould enter *France* "on the Side of *Spain*, and the King of *England* on "the Side of *Picardy*, each with an Army of at leaſt "30,000 Men.—That they ſhould make neither Peace "nor Truce without mutual Conſent.—That, if any "Place ſhould be conquered from *France*, to prevent "Diſputes, each ſhould declare his Pretenſions before "the 21ſt of *May*, 1524.—That if the King of *Eng-*"*land* intended to conquer *Scotland*, or further to re-"duce *Ireland*; or the Emperor to recover *Guelders* or "*Friezland*; if the *Scots* invaded *England*, or the "Duke of *Guelders* made War upon the Emperor; "in all theſe Caſes the two Monarchs ſhould be "bound to aſſiſt each other.—That the Pope ſhould "be entreated to enter the League as a principal Con-"tractor.——That the *Venetians* ſhould be admitted, "in caſe they renounced their Alliance with *France*.— "That they both ſhould uſe their Endeavours to per-"ſuade the *Switzers* to forſake the *French*, or at leaſt "to ſtand neuter."

The two Monarchs ſubmitted themſelves to the *Spiritual* Juriſdiction of the Cardinal of *York*, as *Legate*, and required him to pronounce Sentence of *Excommunication* againſt either of the contracting Parties, who ſhould firſt violate the Treaty. *

On the 29th of *June*, the Emperor appeared, in the Robes of the Order of the *Garter*, in his Stall at *Windſor*, obſerving all the uſual Ceremonies with the other Knights-companions; he and the King received the Holy Sacrament together, and ſwore upon the Evangeliſts faithfully to obſerve the League concluded between them.

The

* Why then ſhould Cardinal *Wolſey* be charged by *Rapin* with ſo much *Preſumption*, for joining himſelf with the King, as a *Conſervator* of a Treaty? See fol. 192, foregoing.

The ſame Day that the Treaty was concluded, the Emperor ſigned Letters Patent to pay *Henry* whatever was due to him from *Francis*, in caſe he refuſed or neglected to pay the ſame on Account of the preſent League.

Rapin ſays, "That (during the Emperor's Stay in *England*, which was about five Weeks) "he had ſo "gained on the whole Court by his Civilities, Careſſes, and Preſents, that he was almoſt ſure of leaving none but Friends behind him." So that here *Rapin* admits he had other Friends in *Britain* beſides the Cardinal. He alſo tells us, "That the Emperor "had engaged the Good-will of the *Engliſh*, by appointing the Earl of *Surry* Admiral of his Fleet, "(who was alſo Admiral of the *Britiſh* Fleet) "whoſe Commiſſion was drawn while the Emperor "was at *London*, before his Journey to *Windſor*." Lord *Herbert* has inſerted the Patent at length in *Latin*, which is dated the 8th of *June*, as well for the Rareneſs of it, as for the Honour of the Perſon; of which here follows a Tranſlation.

"CHARLES *the* Vth, *by Divine Clemency, elected Emperor of the* Romans, *always auguſt*; *and of* Germany, Spain, *both the* Sicilies, Jeruſalem, Hungary, "Dalmatia, Croatia, *&c. King*; *Arch-duke of* Auſtria, "*Duke of* Burgundy, *and* Brabant; *Count of* Habſburg, Flanders, Tyrol, *&c.*

"WHEREAS the moſt ſerene and powerful "Prince *Henry* the VIIIth, King of *England* "and *France*, our moſt dear Brother, Uncle, and Ally, hath juſtly declared War againſt *Francis*, King "of the *Franks*, for having lately violated a League "which he had concluded with us both; and being "equally invaded by the ſaid *French* King, and joining his Cauſe with ours, wherefore, among his other "Preparations of War, he has fitted out his Fleet, "and

" and given the Command thereof to our moſt illuſ-
" trious and dear Couſin *Thomas*, Earl of *Surry*,
" Knight of the moſt Noble Order of the Garter,
" Admiral * of *England*, *Wales*, *Ireland*, *Normandy*,
" *Gaſcony*, and *Aquitain*; We alſo have agreed to at-
" tack the ſaid common Enemy by Sea, as our Duty
" ſo to do, by joining our Fleet to that of our afore-
" ſaid moſt ſerene Uncle; and conſidering as well
" the excellent Conduct and Courage, and other emi-
" nent Virtues of his ſaid Admiral, as, that Affairs
" carried on by united Forces and Powers, are bet-
" ter governed by one Commander and one Head,
" than many: For theſe Reaſons we have been led to
" deſtine the Command of our Fleet, and the Pro-
" vince of acting by Sea, for the ſaid Admiral of
" *England*: Therefore, by the Tenor of theſe our
" preſent Letters, we give and grant unto the ſaid
" moſt illuſtrious *Thomas*, Earl of *Surry*, Admiral of
" *England*, and Captain-general of the aforeſaid
" Fleet of the King our Uncle, the ſame full Power
" and Authority over our Squadron, and over all the
" Captains, Soldiers, and Sailors, of whatſoever Title,
" Degree or Condition, as the ſaid Admiral has over
" his own King's Fleet, as well in raiſing and confer-
" ring

* The ninth and laſt great Officer of the Crown is that of Lord High Admiral, whoſe Truſt and Honour was formerly reputed ſo eminent, that this Poſt was given to ſome of the King's younger Sons, near Kinſmen, or one of the Chiefeſt of the Nobility.

To the *Lord High Admiral* belongeth the Cognizance of Contracts, Pleas, and Quarrels, made on any Part of the Sea.

He has alſo Power to appoint Coroners to view dead Bodies found on the Sea-coaſt, or at Sea; to appoint Commiſſioners or Judges for adminiſtring Juſtice in the High Court of Admiralty; to impriſon, releaſe, beſides other great Privileges.

We have had many great Lord High Admirals, but the Admiralty is now held in Commiſſion, and the preſent Lords are, the Right Hon. *Daniel* Earl of *Winchelſea* and *Nottingham*, *John Cockburne*, Eſq; Lord *Archibald Hamilton*, the Right Hon *Charles* Lord *Baltimore*, *Philip Cavendiſh*, Eſq; *George Lee*, L. L. D. and *John Morley Trevor*, Eſq;

" ring the Honour of Knighthood on thoſe he ſhall " judge deſerving thereof; as, on the contrary, of " puniſhing Criminals, making new Laws, and taking " Cognizance of their Cauſes, and to act and do in " every other reſpect, according to the Authority " granted to him by his own King aforeſaid, and in " what Manner ſoever it appertains to the Juriſdiction " of a Captain-general of a Fleet, or to the ſingular " Prudence and Wiſdom of the ſaid Admiral it ſhall " ſeem meet. We therefore command and ſtrictly " charge all and every the Captains, Vice-captains, " Lieutenants, Barons, Nobles, Knights, Maſters, " Navigators, Seamen, and all other the Soldiers as " well Horſe as Foot, in our ſaid Fleet, or that here- " after ſhall be, that they attend, aſſiſt and obey in " every particular, the ſaid Captain-general, Earl, and " Admiral, and to his Deputies herein, on pain of " due Puniſhment for acting to the contrary. In " Teſtimony whereof, we have hereunto ſet our Hand " and Seal.

" *Given in the City of* London, June *the 8th*, 1522, " *and in the third Year of our Reign in the* Roman " *Empire, but the ſeventh in our other Kingdoms.*

" CHARLES."

" By the Emperor,

" *J. ALEMAND.*"

On the ſame Day the Emperor, by Letters Patent, engaged to pay *Wolſey* a Penſion of 9000 Crowns of Gold, *di ſolcit*, in order to make him Satisfaction for the Injury he might ſuſtain, thro' *Francis*'s not paying him the yearly Allowance, for the Surrender of the Biſhoprick of *Tournay*.

Some Days after this laſt Tranſaction, the Emperor farther obliged himſelf to pay *Wolſey* a Penſion of 2500 Ducats, till the like Sum ſhould be aſſigned him

him on the vacant Churches in *Spain*, in lieu of what *Wolſey* had received out of the Biſhoprick of *Badajos*, which the Emperor deſired to diſcharge. "But "his Bounty to *Wolſey*, ſays *Rapin*, was amply re- "compenced, by a great Sum lent him by the King "before his Departure."

Affairs of Spain. 1522.

On the 6th of *July* the Emperor embarked at *Southampton*; and the Earl of *Surry* took upon him the Command of the *Engliſh* and *Flemiſh* Fleets, and on the 16th landed the Emperor at *Santander* in *Spain*, where the Conſtable and Admiral received him with great Joy. From *Santander* his Majeſty went to *Placencia*, where he ſtaid about 15 Days, and on the 26th of *Auguſt* made his ſolemn Entry into *Valladolid*, where all the Clergy, Nobility, and Gentry came to kiſs his Hand. His Majeſty went next to viſit his Mother at *Tordeſillos*; but, finding her quite beſide herſelf, ſoon returned to *Valladolid*.

The Emperor was no ſooner arrived in *Spain*, but he wrote the following moſt affectionate Letter to Cardinal *Wolſey*.

"*My Lord Cardinal, and good Friend,*

"I Have received the Letters you wrote to me, "from the Ambaſſadors of the King my Father "and Uncle, which afforded me great Pleaſure, hav- "ing been by them fully informed of the good "News of the ſaid King my good Father, the Queen "my Aunt, and Mother, and of my beſt beloved Couſin "and Companion, the Princeſs their Daughter; and "alſo of your own, which has been very agreeable to "me; and I thank you for the good Affection you "always profeſſed for me and my Affairs, and pray "you to continue the ſame, as I firmly believe you "will; for you know, that I repoſe a moſt perfect "Confidence in you; and as the Bearer, your Secre- "tary, is on his Return home, I would not omit writ- "ing to you, that you might know our tender Re-

" membrance of you, and be acquainted, that your " ſaid Secretary has governed himſelf well and ſagely " in his Charge here.

" My Ambaſſadors will inform you in every other " Particular, which nearly regards our common In- " tereſts, and the Diſappointment of our Enemy. I " pray you to give Credit to my ſaid Ambaſſadors, as " you would to myſelf, and ſhew yourſelf, in caſe of " Need, ſuch as I take you to be, my good and loyal " Friend, which I ſhall always keep freſh in my Me- " mory, praying our Lord to grant unto you, my " Lord Cardinal, and good Friend, that which you " moſt deſire.

" Given in our City of *Valladolid*, *Nov.* 11, 1522.

" *Your good Friend*,

" CHARLES.

L' Alemande."

Affairs of England. King *Henry* having entered into a War with *France*, Money was to be raiſed to carry it on, which occaſioned his calling a *Grand Council*, wherein it was propoſed and agreed to raiſe Money by way of Loan.

The Way taken to collect in the Loan was this, as *Stowe* relates, and which he ſays he took from an original Warrant, that was directed to the Conſtable of an Hundred, and runs thus, " He was commanded " to charge the Conſtables of every Pariſh, within the " ſaid Hundred, to appear perſonally before certain " Commiſſioners, and to bring with them the Names " of all Perſons above 16 Years old, dwelling within " the ſaid Hundred, and to enjoin them to repair to " a certain Place aſſigned, with their Arms, and de- " clare what their Names were, to whom they be- " longed; who was Lord of every Town or Ham- " let, who were Stewards; who were the Parſons of " the Town, what their Benefice was worth; who " the Owners of every Parcel of Land within the ſaid " Precinct,

" Precinct, what was the yearly Value of every Man's " Land, what Stock in Hand, who the Owners there- " of, what Strangers dwelt there, what Buſineſs they " follow; what Penſions go thence to religious and " ſpiritual Men; which being certified, the King re- " joyced in finding his Kingdom ſo wealthy," (ſays *Polydor Virgil.*) See *Stowe's Annals*, p. 515. This Warrant was dated at *Brentwood*, *March* 27, 1522. After the Return of this Warrant, the Commiſſioners began by taking a Tenth from the Laity, and a Fourth from the Clergy, according to the true Value of their Eſtates.

Rapin ſays, " *This general Loan made a great Noiſe* " *all over the Kingdom, every one openly exclaimed a-* " *gainſt the Cardinal, who was the Author*; * but he " little regarded the People's Clamours, becauſe he " was ſupported by the King. However, tho' at firſt " he had given Orders to exact Loans with the ſame " Rigour as if they had been a Tax impoſed by the " Parliament, he met with ſo many Obſtacles, that " he was apprehenſive of raiſing, in the Kingdom, " Commotions not to be appeaſed at his Pleaſure; " ſo the Tax was levied much more gently than at " firſt intended."

When the *London* Merchants were called upon to pay their Part of this Tax, and required to declare, upon Oath, the real Value of their Effects, they firmly refuſed it, alledging, it was not poſſible for them to give an exact Account of their Effects; Part whereof being in the Hands of their Correſpondents in foreign Countries, and a great deal, of what they might imagine they were worth, might be loſt. This Conduct

* Here he, with great Confidence, affirms, *That* Wolſey *was the Author of this Loan*; whereas nothing is more plain, than that it was ſettled in Council, and many Preſidents were produced to juſtify it. The like Method was again taken by *Henry* the VIIIth, and ſome of his Succeſſors; but it has been long ſince diſuſed, though not before ſome of our brave Anceſtors ſacrificed both their Blood and Treaſure in ſupport of true *Engliſh* Liberty.

had ſo good an Effect, that the Miniſtry was glad to accept, from thoſe great Supporters of the Trade and Commerce of their Country, ſuch Sums as they thought fit to pay, according to their own Eſtimation.

Earl of Surry *lands in* France. 1522.

After the Earl of *Surry* had landed the Emperor in *Spain*, he proceeded with the Land-forces on board his Fleet, and joined thoſe of the Emperor, who waited for him in *Picardy*, in order to act againſt the *French*. The Count *de Brure* commanded on the Part of the Emperor, and the Earl of *Surry* for the King of *England*. The right Wing of the Earl's Army was led by Lord *Fitzwalter*, the Rear by Sir *William Sandys*, Comptroller of the King's Houſhold, * and Sir *Richard Wingfield*, and the main Body by the Earl himſelf; but Sir *Edward Guilford* was Captain of the Horſe. Theſe two Armies, in *September*, beſieged *Heſdin*; which, after having been ſix Weeks before the Town, were forced to retire. From thence they marched to *Dortens*, but, finding the Place deſerted, they ſet fire to it: Then they intending to approach *Corbie* in *October*, but the bad Weather, and the Care the *French* had taken of the Place, hindered the Undertaking of the Siege. Afterwards the *Imperialiſts* retired into *Artois*, and the *Engliſh* returned home on board their Fleet, having firſt burned and plundered ſeveral Villages, and taken 14,000 Sheep, 1400 Oxen and Cows, 1300 Hogs, and 600 Horſes and Mares. And thus ended the firſt Year of the War with *France*.

Anna Bulleyn, who had reſided in the *French* Court ever ſince her going over with Queen *Mary*, Wife of *Lewis* the XIIth, now returned to *England*. As this Lady was in ſome meaſure the Ruin of *Wolſey*, and afterwards became Queen of *England*, let us ſee what Account

* His Office is to controul the Accounts and Reckonings of the *Green-Cloth*, of which Board he is always a Member, and the preſent Comptroller is Sir *Conyers Darcy*.

Account ſome of the Hiſtorians give of her; and firſt *Rapin* ſays,

"*Anna Bullen* * was of a good, tho' not noble, Fa-
"mily; Sir *Thomas Bullen*, her Father, married a
"Siſter of the Duke of *Norfolk*'s, and had by her
"*Anne*, who was born, according to *Cambden*, in 1527,
"about two Years before *Henry* the VIIIth mounted
"the Throne. Sir *Thomas* was ſent Ambaſſador to
"*France* in 1515, and 1527. He was made Viſcount
"*Rochford* in 1525, and afterwards Earl of *Wiltſhire*
"and *Ormond*. † *Anne*, his Daughter, being but 7
"Years old, was carried to *France* in 1514, when *Mary*,
"the King's Siſter, went to conſummate her Marri-
"age at *Abbeville*, with *Lewis* the XIIth. The Queen
"being married again ſhortly after to the Duke of
"*Suffolk*, and returning to *England*, *Anna Bullen* was
"left behind in *France*, where it is ſuppoſed, that,
"from that Time, ſhe entered into the Service of
"*Francis* the Iſt's Queen, tho' ſhe was but 8 Years
"of Age; but others preſume, that her Beauty, Gen-
"teelneſs, and the Livelineſs of her Wit, made
"Queen *Claude* deſirous to keep her about her Per-
"ſon." *Camden* affirms, "That ſhe retained *Anna* in
"her Service to the Day of her Death," which fell out in *July*, 1524; and was taken into Service by the Dutcheſs of *Alençon*, *Francis*'s Siſter: But *Du Tillet* and *Du Ploix*, *French* Authors, aſſert, "That ſhe
"came to *England* in 1522." My Lord *Herbert* ſays the ſame Thing; but, without citing any particular Authority, he contents himſelf with ſaying it appears from Hiſtory.

Sanders is very ſevere in his Reflections on her, ſaying, "This Lady's Shape was very deformed and ir-
"regular, and that her Actions in *France* were ſo
"looſe, that ſhe became notorious for her irregular
"Life,

* Her true Name was *Anne Bulleyn*, as it is always ſet down in the Publick Acts, tho' the *Engliſh* write *Bullen*, and the *French* Boulen.

† His Mother was one of the Daughters and Heirs of the Earl of *Wiltſhire* and *Ormond*.

" Life, and yet was very much careſſed in that Court."
" But it is very improbable (ſays *Fiddes*) that a Lady
" of ſuch a Form, as *Sanders* hath drawn, ſhould be
" ſo generally careſſed in the Court of *France*, after
" the Manner deſcribed by him; and much more
" improbable, that the King of *England*, who could
" not be a Stranger to her Conduct there, (if it was
" ſo notorious as that Author hath reported) ſhould
" have been poſſeſſed with ſuch a violent Paſſion for
" a Creature ſo diſagreeable as he has made her."

However deformed the Lady might have been, in the Opinion of *Sanders*, it was plain ſhe was not ſo in the Eyes of the Queen, or King; for, as to the Queen, no ſooner was *Ann Bulleyn* arrived in *England*, but ſhe was introduced to Court, and made one of the Maids of Honour to her Majeſty; nay, it appears plain, that the King immediately took notice of her, not without a Deſign to enjoy her: For, as the Cardinal of *York* ſtill continued to live in the utmoſt Grandeur, and was at once not only the Wonder and Admiration of the People of *England*, but of the other Part of *Europe*, inſomuch, that the Nobility piqued themſelves in having their Sons placed in his Family, eſteeming it the only Method of forming their Minds agreeable to their Birth, among other

* It has been obſerved by *Fiddes*, " That the Nobility in " the Cardinal's Family rather " reſided there, as in a Place " of Education, than under the " Notion or Character of Ser- " vants;" and to corroborate what we have abovementioned, take the following, as Inſtances, that his taking ſo many young Noblemen into his Family was not the Effect of his *Pride*, but in Conformity to the laudable Examples of many of his venerable Predeceſſors.

John de Athon, upon the Conſtitutions of *Othobon*, Tit. 23. in reſpect to the Goods of ſuch who die inteſtate, upon the Word *Barones*, has the following Paſſage concerning *Groſſted*, Biſhop of *Lincoln*.

" *Robert*, ſirnamed *Groſſted*, of " holy Memory, formerly Biſhop " of *Lincoln*, who was deſcended " not from a noble but a mean " Extraction, being asked by the " King, who ſeemed to wonder " where he had learned the Qua- " lification of inſtructing the Sons

" of

other young Noblemen, that were placed in the Cardinal's Family, was the Lord *Piercy*, eldeſt Son of

" of the Nobles of the Kingdom, " which he had in his Family; " he boldly anſwered: " In the " Houſe or Palace of greater " Kings than the King of *England*, " for that he had learned to " copy the Rule of Life after " the Manner of *David*, *Solo-* " *mon*, and other Kings, from " his early Intimacy with the " Scriptures."

Rymer, in his *Apoſtolical Benediction*, from *Saunders*, acquaints us, " That the Sons of the No- " bility were placed with *Whit-* " *ing*, Abbot of *Glaſtenbury*, for " their Education, who was " Cotemporary with the Cardi- " nal, and which Method of " Education was continued for " ſome time after." To evince this, the late Right Honourable *Thomas Wentworth*, Earl of *Straf-* *ford*, a Nobleman, who, in his Life-time, was an Ornament to his Country, preſerved in an Original of Inſtructions, wrote in the Year 1620, by the Earl of *Arundel*, for the Uſe of his younger Son, the Great Grandfather to the preſent Earl of *Strafford*; the Title of which runs thus:

" INSTRUCTIONS *for you my* " *Son* William, *how to behave* " *yourſelf at* Norwich." In which is the following Paſſage:

" You ſhall, in all Things, " reverence, honour and obey " my Lord Biſhop of *Nor-* " *wich*, as you would do any " of your Parents; eſteeming " whatſoever he ſhall com- " mand, as if your Grandmo- " ther of *Arundel*, your Mother, " or myſelf, ſhould ſay it; and " in all Things eſteem yourſelf " as my Lord's Page; a Breed- " ing, which Youths of my " Houſe, far ſuperior to you, " were accuſtomed unto, as my " Grandfather of *Norfolk*, and " his Brother, my good Uncle " of *Northampton*, were both " bred as Pages with Biſhops."

The Inſtructions were written upon Parchment, in that Earl's own Hand, and ſigned by himſelf; and, tho' they ſeem to be the Product of his firſt Thoughts, yet ſuch an excellent Vein of Piety and good Senſe runs thro' them, as may be ſufficient to remove thoſe Prejudices, which ſome Perſons may have entertained to the Diſadvantage of that great Peer, on Occaſion of the Character given him by the late Earl of *Clarendon*, in his *Hiſtory of the Rebellion*, wherein this noble Hiſtorian does not appear to have ſpoken of the Earl of *Arundel* with that Impartiality, or to have taken that requiſite Care to inform himſelf, which he has diſcovered in other Parts of his Hiſtory; for there are ſeveral Remains of the Earl of *Arundel* in Writing, which ſhew he was ſo far, in reſpect to his intellectual Talents, from being a weak Man, that he had a very good Underſtanding, improved by an uncommon Meaſure of Knowledge.

of the Earl of *Northumberland*, (who was one of thoſe that generally waited on the Cardinal to Court) and by this Means the young Lord had frequent Opportunities of converſing with the Maids of Honour, particularly with the Lady *Ann Bulleyn*. *Piercy* ſoon ſo far gained the Favour of the young Lady, that ſhe actually agreed, privately, to marry him; which coming, by ſome unhappy Means or other to *Henry*'s Ear, he ſo highly reſented it, that he charged the Cardinal to ſend for his Pupil's Father to Court, formally to break the Contract. This Affair terminated in the young Lord's receiving a ſevere Reprimand from the Earl his Father,* in the Preſence of ſeveral of the Cardinal's Gentlemen; and it was with much Difficulty that the young Lord regained his Father's Favour. However, he ſhortly after quitted the Cardinal's Family, retired into the Country, and lived private for ſome Time. The Lady *Ann* was alſo diſmiſſed the Court, and ſent to one of her Father's Seats in the Country.

It has been related, "That, through this Incident, "both the young Lord and *Ann Bulleyn* conceived "a mortal Prejudice to the Cardinal in their Hearts," which they afterwards, when he loſt the King's Favour, diſcovered, by their Endeavours to do him all the Hurt they poſſibly could: Tho' every one muſt ſee, that what the Cardinal had done at that Time was ſolely by the King's Direction, and not owing to any Ill-will he bore to either of them.

Affairs of the Univerſity of Oxford.

This Year there were great Diſſentions amongſt the Maſters about the Choice of the Proctors, which could not otherwiſe be determined than by remitting a State of the Affair to the Cardinal, which they did, without giving any previous Notice to the Chancellor.

There is a Letter on this Occaſion from *Wolſey* to the Univerſity, wherein he takes notice of the Depu-

* See Vol. II. fol. 31. *Cavendiſh*'s Hiſtory.

Deputation ſent him to repair the State of the Differences amongſt them; expreſſing his Deſire of making his due Acknowledgments to them for this freſh Teſtimony of their Regard for him. In the mean time, towards re-eſtabliſhing the common Tranquillity, he tells them, "He thinks it adviſeable to "defer the Election of Proctors for ſome Time, and "that two Perſons of good Reputation, who were "not of turbulent, aſpiring Tempers, ſhould be choſen, "to execute the Office till *Michaelmas* following; "but that this Province ſhould not be committed "to them under the Title of Proctors, but only "of Maſters of the Schools; and, by the Expira-"tion of that Term, he hoped he ſhould be more "at Leiſure, to attend the Affairs of the Univerſity, "and to ſee all Things ſettled upon ſo good a Foun-"dation, that the State of it would be continually "more ſplendid and flouriſhing."

In anſwer to this Letter the Univerſity handſomely excuſe themſelves, on account of the frequent Occaſions they had had of addreſſing themſelves to him, repreſenting that their Importunity had been in a Manner the Effect of Conſtraint, becauſe they had no Proſpect of Relief, in the preſent Situation of their Affairs, but from his favourable Interpoſition; and acquaint him, "That the Univerſity had rea-"dily conformed to his Direction, concerning the "Perſons recommended by him, (*Barber* and *Stark*) "but withal requeſted, that he would be pleaſed to "remit to them the cuſtomary Form of electing "Proctors, till he ſhould have more Reſpit, from "the greater Affairs of State, to regulate thoſe of "the Univerſity." Then they deſcended, among other almoſt innumerable Benefits conferred on them, to acknowledge, "His ſingular Favour, in procuring "to them an Exemption from the general Tax, "levied towards the Support of the War againſt "*France*; for which they had, by former Letters,

" interceded to him;" repreſenting, " That Col-
" leges, and their immediate Dependencies, had been
" exempted from the Charge of contributing to the
" publick Wars." [This Cuſtom the Cardinal in-
ſiſted upon to the King, as a Matter of *Academical* Right; and, at his Inſtance, the Immunity claimed was obtained for the Univerſity.] And the Univerſity further requeſted, " in Caſe of a ſecond
" Demand, that the Exemption might be con-
" tinued."

In anſwer to the firſt Part of their Letter the Cardinal refers them to their former cuſtomary Methods of electing the Proctors, and adviſes them " to take
" all ſuch fit Precautions, againſt ſeditious and tu-
" multuous Proceedings, whereby the Peace and Dig-
" nity of the Univerſity might be beſt preſerved." To the other Part, relating to a Diſcharge from the *Subſidy*, he informs them, " That he could
" not make any final Determination of the Matter,
" till he had laid it before the Council, which he
" hoped to do in ſuch a Manner as to make them
" ſenſible of the Effect of his Zeal for their Ad-
" vantage." And adviſed them, in the Concluſion,
" To preſerve a good Spirit, and apply themſelves
" to the Study of Learning, and the Practice of holy
" Diſcipline; to be particularly careful, that they did
" not, from any Motive of vain Glory, or in purſuit
" of any private Quarrels or Animoſities, ſuffer
" themſelves to be diverted from the Opportuni-
" ties of improving themſelves in true and uſeful
" Erudition."

Doctor *Powell* of *Oxford*, this Year, became the King's Second, and wrote a Book againſt *Luther*; and his Performance was much applauded by the Univerſity, the Heads of which gave it a great Character, in their Letter to his Majeſty. This Tract was divided into two Books; the firſt was intitled,

De

De Summo Pontifice, et Euchariſtiæ Sacramento; the other, *De Sex Sacramentis.*

The King was extremely pleaſed with what *Powell* had wrote; inſomuch, that moſt People then thought he would quickly have been promoted to the higheſt Station in the Church. But (which ſhews the Inſtability of human Affairs) he afterwards loſt the King's Favour, by appearing ſtrenuouſly againſt the Divorce, and the new Supremacy, juſt ſet up; and thus, by croſſing the Meaſures of the Court, he drew a Storm on himſelf, was firſt impriſoned,* and, with the Integrity of a faithful Prelate, ſealed his Teſtimony with being executed in *Smithfield*, which happened after Cardinal *Wolſey*'s Death.

Dr. Powell *executed.*

Henry was highly diſpleaſed both with the Duke of *Albany*'s Return to *Scotland*, and his Conduct there; which put him upon ſending a Herald into that Kingdom, who was commiſſioned not only to reproach the Duke with a Breach of Promiſe, but likewiſe of an Intention to marry the Queen Dowager, and thereby deprive the young King of the Crown; and the Reaſon of this laſt Charge was, the Duke had ſeconded the Queen's Suit at *Rome*, for a Divorce from her Huſband, the Earl of *Angus*.

Affairs of Scotland. 1522.

The King beſides this writ a ſharp Letter to the Parliament of *Scotland* againſt the Duke, and another to the Queen on the ſame Account.

The Queen immediately anſwered her Brother's Letter, and therein took notice in very ſtrong Terms, "That ſhe was ſurprized, how his Majeſty could "give credit to a Report, that ſhe intended to marry "the Duke of *Albany*; and that the Authors of ſuch "a Report were Enemies to both Nations: But that "it was with her Conſent and Advice, that *Albany*

* *Wood*'s Hiſtory of the Univerſity of *Oxford.*

" was recalled from *France*: That, if he had not " been ſo unkind a Brother, ſhe ſhould have had no " Occaſion to ſeek the Protection of a Stranger."

Henry was very much alarmed on the Receipt of this Letter, and, apprehending he ſhould ſoon be engaged in a War with *Scotland*, in order to prevent a Surprize from that Nation, he fitted out ſix Ships of War, and ordered them to proceed to the Coaſt of *Scotland*; having at the ſame time diſpatched Lord *Dacres* at the Head of an Army, to march to the Borders of that Kingdom; with Inſtructions, however, before he ſhould commit Hoſtilities, to make Proclamation, " That if the *Scots* did not conclude a " Peace with the *Engliſh*, before the 1ſt of *March* " then following, it ſhould be at their Peril."

In the mean time the Duke of *Albany* levied an Army, and put himſelf at the Head of his Forces, in order to oppoſe the *Engliſh*: But no ſooner did the *Scots* come within ſight of *Henry*'s Army, than they refuſed to fight; nay, they obliged the Duke to propoſe a Truce to the Lord *Dacres*, which his Lordſhip, upon conſulting his Maſter, agreed to. *Albany* was ſo chagrined at what the *Scots* had done, that, in the Month of *October*, he thought proper to quit their Kingdom in Diſguſt, and retired to *Paris*. The News of the Duke's Retreat was very acceptable to our King, which had the deſired Iſſue; for it effectually ſtopped the War between the two Nations; the *French* Intereſt every Day more and more declined; and that of the *Engliſh* encreaſed, which made the Concluſion of this Year very agreeable to thoſe who valued the Peace and Welfare of the two Nations.

Rhodes *taken by the* Turks.

Now the Emperor of the *Turks* turned his Armies againſt *Rhodes*, which was taken by that Monarch. Biſhop *Godwin* gives this Account of that fatal and ignominious Loſs ſuſtained by *Chriſtendom*. " The Iſle of *Rhodes* was " this Year taken on *Chriſtmas-day* by the *Turks*, " whilſt

" whilſt *Chriſtian* Princes, diſagreeing about Matters " of nothing, ruin themſelves, and invite this Miſ- " creant to propagate his, long ſince, too formidable " Empire. God grant they may, at length, conſi- " dering the common Danger, rouſe up themſelves, " and with joint Force repel the Enemies of Chriſt's " Croſs; and, tho' he be far enough from ſome, is " too near to the remoteſt."

Hall ſays, " The *Great Turk* himſelf entered into " *Rhodes*, and took Poſſeſſion of it on *Chriſtmas-day*, " after it had ſuſtained a long Siege. The Maſter " of the Iſland, and the reſt of his Order, ſailed from " thence, on the 1ſt of *Jan.* to *Candy*, and at length " arrived at *Rome*. Thus was the Town and Iſle of " *Rhodes* taken by the *Great Turk*, which had been " before a great Relief to all *Chriſtians*, that reſorted " to the Eaſt Parts of the World. This Loſs was " afterwards much lamented in *Chriſtendom*, and great " Blame was laid on the *Chriſtian* Princes, for having " neglected to ſend any ſort of Succour to the Iſland " during the Siege."

Affairs of England. 1523.

IN the Beginning of this Year Dr. *Ruthall*, Biſhop of *Durham*, departed this Life; and the Biſhoprick was ſoon after given to Cardinal *Wolſey*.

Biſhop Ruthall's *Birth, Education, and Riſe.*

Thomas Ruthall was born at *Cirenceſter*, in *Glouceſterſhire*, and educated at *Cambridge*, where he commenced Doctor of Laws. *Henry* the VIIth made him one of his Privy-counſellors, and was ſo continued by *Henry* the VIIIth, who preferred him to the See of *Durham*.

Dr. *Ruthall* was eſteemed a very learned and experienced Gentleman in political Affairs; and *Godwin* affirms, " That *Henry* the VIIIth deſired him to write " his Opinion of the State of the Kingdom in gene- " ral, but more eſpecially that Part of it which im- " mediately concerned the Crown." The Biſhop executed

executed the King's Order, writ his Opinion in a fair Hand, and bound the ſame up in a Volume. As *Rutball* was thus employed, at the King's Inſtance, to ſtate the Condition of the Kingdom, he bethought himſelf of looking into the State of his own Concerns, and got a ſecond Volume bound up in the ſame manner as the firſt, wherein he wrote an exact Inventory of all his Eſtates, both real and perſonal, which, it was ſaid, amounted to no leſs a Sum than had 100,000 *l. Sterling*.

The King ſent *Wolſey* to *Rutball* for his Book, which his Majeſty was very impatient to ſee; but, by a fatal Blunder, he delivered the Book that contained the Inventory of his own Eſtate, inſtead of that he written by the King's Order.

Wolſey carried the Book to the King, and told his Majeſty, "That tho' he would not meet with the "Account he expected, yet he would find the Parti-"culars of Biſhop *Rutball*'s Eſtate, and where to ap-"ply for Money in caſe he wanted." But the Biſhop's Miſtake ſate ſo heavy on his Spirits, that it haſtened his Death. 'Tis pity earthly Pelf ſhould be thus prevalent.

Upon the Cardinal's being preferred to the Biſhoprick of *Durham*,* he reſigned the Adminiſtration of *Bath* and *Wells*,† to which Biſhoprick Dr. *John Clark*, Maſter of the Rolls, was preferred, and conſecrated before the Year expired.

Dr. Clark *made Biſhop of* Bath.

Dr.

**Durham* is ſeated in a healthy and plentiful Country; the City's greateſt Ornaments are the Caſtle, a ſtately Structure raiſed on the Top of a Hill, by *William the Conqueror*, which is now the Biſhop's Palace; and the Cathedral a noble Building, dedicated to *St. Cuthbert*.

† They are joined in one Biſhoprick, though the Biſhop's Seat has for many Ages been at *Wells*, which is but a ſmall City, yet well Peopled, and adorned with curious Buildings; the Cathedral is a magnificent Pile, the Weſt Front of which is a Piece of elegant Imagery in carved Stone-work, finely decorated.

Dr. *Blythe*, Biſhop of *Litchfield* and *Coventry*, was accuſed of High-treaſon, and committed for that Offence: But, the Accuſation afterwards appearing to be malicious, he was diſcharged. *Dr. Blythe accuſed of Treaſon.*

On the 15th of *April* the Parliament met at *Black-fryars*, *London*. The King came to the Houſe of Lords, in his Royal Robes, and being ſeated on the Throne, at his Feet on the Right-hand ſate Cardinal *Wolſey* and the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; and at the Rail behind ſtood Dr. *Tunſtal*, Biſhop of *London*. The Commons being come, the Biſhops, by the King's Command, opened the Cauſe of aſſembling the Parliament and, in an elegant Speech, deſcribed the Qualifications of a King. *Proceedings of the 7th Parliament.*

" Firſt, ſays the Biſhop, a King muſt be a Man " of Judgment, according to the Saying of the Pro- " phet *David:* He alſo muſt be a Man of great " Learning; and God has ſent us a Prince of pro- " found Judgment, conſummate Learning, and infi- " nite Experience: And who, agreeable to his Royal " Duty, had not forgot to ſtudy all Things that " might be profitable for his Realm;" ſo that the " Saying of *Seneca* can in no wiſe be applied to him, " *Art thou a King, and haſt no Time to be a King?* " which is as much as to ſay, *Art thou a King, and* " *doſt nothing profitable to thy People?* The King, " therefore, in order to remedy ſuch Inconveniences " as may have happened in the State, has been in- " duced to call this high Court of Parliament, for " making and ordering of new Statutes, which may " be of Service to the Commonwealth."

Cardinal *Wolſey*, after this Speech, in the King's Name, willed the Commons to repair to their Houſe, and elect a Speaker; which they did, and choſe Sir *Thomas More*, who was preſented to the King for his Approbation.

Sir

Sir *Thomas*, in his Speech on this Occaſion, told his Majeſty, " That he was wanting both in Wit, " Learning, and Diſcretion, to ſpeak before ſo great " a Prince. *Phormio*, your Majeſty muſt well remember, deſired *Hanibal* to attend his Lectures, which " he conſented to: But, when *Hanibal* was come, " *Phormio* began to treat of *Chivalry*; upon which " he immediately called him an arrogant Fool, " for preſuming to teach him, who was Maſter of " *Chivalry*, the Feats of War. So, in like Manner, " if I ſhould ſpeak before your Majeſty of *Learning*, " and Ordering of the Commonwealth, your Highneſs, being ſo well warned, and of ſuch Prudence " and Experience, might juſtly ſay to me as the " great *Hanibal* had ſaid to *Phormio*." In the Concluſion, Sir *Thomas* begged the King to reject the Choice the Commons had made, and to direct them to chuſe another Speaker.

To this Cardinal *Wolſey* anſwered, by his Majeſty's Command, " That the King knew his Wit, Learn- " ing, and Diſcretion, by long Experience in his " Service; wherefore, the King thought that the " Commons had made a very proper Choice, and " as ſuch readily admitted him, highly approving " thereof." Then Sir *Thomas* moſt humbly thanked his Majeſty.

On the 29th of *April* the Cardinal, accompanied by divers Lords, as well Spiritual as Temporal, came into the Houſe of Commons, where being ſeated, in an elegant Speech, he ſet forth the Neceſſity the King was under to enter into a War with *France*; and aſſigned for Cauſes, " That the *French* King had " broken his Promiſes made to *England*, by making " War with the Emperor; notwithſtanding the " Meeting of the two Princes at *Guiſnes*, where the " *French* King had ſolemnly ſwore to keep all the " Articles contained in the League: That he had " with-holden the Payment of the Money agreed on

" at

" at the Delivering up *Tournay:* That he had re-
" fuſed to pay the *French* Queen's Dowry: Where-
" fore he hoped the Commons would cheerfully aſſiſt
" the King in vindicating his Honours, by grant-
" ing the Supplies neceſſary on this urgent Occa-
" ſion; which, he conceived, could not be leſs than
" 800,000*l.*"

The next Day Sir *Thomas More* repeated the Cardinal's Speech to the Commons, and endeavoured to enforce it, by ſaying, " That on ſuch an Occaſion " Men ought not to refuſe Payment of the Sum " mentioned:" But it was anſwered, " That the Sum " was ſo large, it was impoſſible to be levied;" and ſeveral Reaſons were aſſigned to juſtify the ſame; ſuch as, " That, granting there were 15,000 Pariſhes " in *England*, and every Pariſh ſhould give 100 Marks, " the Amount would be but 100,000*l.* which they " could not afford to pay; for that many Pariſhes " were not able to ſpare 100 Marks, eſpecially thoſe " out of Cities and Towns. That, though it had " been ſaid, there were in *England* 40,000 Pariſhes, " it had been proved there were not 13,000. That if " ſo large a Sum ſhould be granted, it would put all " the Coin in the Kingdom into the King's Hands, " which might be of the utmoſt ill Conſequence.

Strype tells us, " That one of the Members declared, " how none of the King's Anceſtors received more " than one Shilling in the Pound, and that he trem-
" bled to think where theſe extraordinary Demands " would end."

After long Debate the Commons came to a Reſolution, to grant the King half the Money demanded; which having been communicated to the Cardinal, he repaired a ſecond Time to the Houſe of Commons, and deſired to hear the Reaſons of thoſe who had oppoſed the Motion: But the Commons replied by their Speaker, " That it was the Order of

" that Houſe to hear, but not to Reaſon, except among " themſelves." The Cardinal then repeated, what he had before ſaid, the Neceſſity the King was under of carrying on the War; and that, if he was ill ſupplied, it would very probably hinder the Operation of the intended Campaign; and concluded with repreſenting the Inconveniency that might attend the State, in not fully ſupplying the King's Occaſions in ſo critical a Juncture.

The King, hearing that the Commons made a great Difficulty of granting the Supply required, was ſo provoked, that he ſent for *Edward Montagu*,* Eſq; one of the Members that had no ſmall Influence in the Houſe, who, being introduced to his Majeſty, had the Mortification to hear the following Speech from the King. " Ho!† WILL THEY NOT SUFFER " MY BILL TO PASS?" and laying his Hand on Mr. *Montagu*'s Head, who was then on his Knees before

* This Gentleman was born at *Bridgſtock* in the County of *Northampton*; and, being entered in the *Middle Temple*, he was choſen *Autumn* Reader of that Society. In the 23d of *Henry* the VIIIth's Reign, he was called to the Degree of Serjeant at Law, and with others, alſo then called, kept ſuch a magnificent Feaſt at *Ely* Houſe for five Days, that it wanted very little of a Coronation Banquet. The King, Queen, and the whole Court honoured them with their Company. In the 30th of this Reign Mr. *Montagu* had the Honour of Knighthood conferred on him, and was afterwards advanced to be Lord Chief Juſtice of the *King's-bench*. That great Stateſman, the late Duke of *Montagu*, was deſcended from this illuſtrious Gentleman, which noble Duke had an excellent ready Wit, and was a great Encourager of Learning. His Grace died on the 9th of *March*, 1708, and was ſucceeded in his Honour and Eſtate by the preſent moſt noble and generous *John* Duke of *Montagu*, who is allowed to have inherited all the valuable Qualities of his illuſtrious Father. His preſent Grace married the Lady *Mary Churchill*, youngeſt Daughter of the late great *John* Duke of *Marlborough*.

† See *Collins*'s *Britiſh Peerage*. A very extraordinary Speech this to a Member of that ever auguſt Houſe! For why was it ſubmitted at all to their Conſideration, if his Majeſty was abſolutely to have whatever he, or his Prime Miniſter, pleaſed to demand?

fore him, "GET MY BILL PASSED BY TO-MORROW, "OR ELSE TO-MORROW THIS HEAD OF YOUR'S "SHALL BE OFF."

Accordingly, the next Day the Parliament granted a Supply, by laying 2 *s.* in the Pound on Eſtates from 20 *l.* a Year to 40 *s.* on all under 1 *s.* and a Groat a Head on every one from 16 Years old and upwards.

But after the Cardinal's laſt Speech, and the King's Menace to Mr. *Montagu*, on the Motion of Sir *John Huſe*, a *Lincolnſhire* Knight, ſeconded by *Montagu* and others, it was agreed, "That thoſe of 50 *l.* a Year "ſhould pay 3 *s.* in the Pound for 2 Years."

On the 31ſt of *July* the Parliament adjourned to *Weſtminſter*, where it ſate till the 13th of *Auguſt*, and then was diſſolved.

The moſt remarkable Acts paſſed in this Parliament were, †

Before

† 1. To impower the King to repeal all Attainders for High Treaſon by his Letters Patent under the Great Seal, during his Life.

2. To confirm the Attainder of the late Duke of *Buckingham*.

3. That no foreign Artificer in *England* ſhould take any Apprentice, but what had been born under the King's Obedience, nor have above two Journeymen that were not ſo; and that they ſhould have a proper Mark on their Wares, upon pain of forfeiting 10 *l.*

4. For giving Liberty to the Six Clerks in *Chancery* to marry.

5. For laying a Penalty of ſix Shillings and eight Pence upon any Perſon, of what Degree or Condition ſoever, who ſhould kill any Hare in the Snow, with Dog or otherwiſe.

6. For Confirming the College of Phyſicians.——Who have, as a grateful Memorial of our Cardinal, placed a fine Picture of him next his Majeſty's, done by the famous *Hans Holbein*; and, in a Table, reciting their Founders and Benefactors, inſerted, next the Article relating to the King, the following concerning the Cardinal:

CARDINALIS WOLSEIUS, ARCHIEPISCOPUS EBORACENSIS, APUD REGEM HEN. VIII. DILIGENTER INTERCESSIT AD COLLEGIUM PRIMÒ FUNDANDUM.

Cardinal WOLSEY, *Archbiſhop of* York, *and High Chancellor of* England, *who firſt diligently interceded with King* Henry *the* VIIIth *to have this College founded.*

Convocation meets April 20. 1523.

Before the Parliament aſſembled, the King iſſued the Writ * underneath, directed to Archbiſhop *Warham*, for calling a *Convocation*; upon the Receipt whereof the Primate ſent Orders to *Cuthbert*, Biſhop of *London*, for ſummoning a *Convocation* to meet at *St. Paul*'s on the 20th of *April*; which accordingly convened, and ſoon after they attended on the Cardinal at *Weſtminſter*, by Virtue of a Mandate ſent to them by *Wolſey*, as *Legate a Latere*; which ſet forth, that the Cauſe for this

* 'The King, &c. *To the moſt Reverend Father in Chriſt the* 'Archbiſhop *of* Canterbury, *Primate of All* England, *Legate from the Apoſtolick See, greeting.*

'CERTAIN arduous and 'urgent Affairs relating to 'us, the Defence and Security 'of the Church of *England*, and 'the publick Good, the De'fence of our Kingdom and 'Subjects thereunto us moving, 'We require and command you 'on the Fidelity and Affection, 'whereby you are unto us 'bounden, that, as ſoon as you 'have carefully examined and 'peruſed the Premiſes, you cite 'all and ſingular the Biſhops of 'your Province, Deacons, Pri'ors of Cathedral Churches, Ab'bots, Priors, and other Elec'tives, Exempts and Non-ex'empts; alſo Arch-deacons Con'vents, Chapters, and Colleges, 'and all the Clergy of every 'Dioceſe of that Province, to 'meet before you in due man'ner in the Cathedral Church 'of *St. Paul* at *London*, or elſe'where, as to you ſhall ſeem 'moſt expedient, and that with 'all proper Speed, to treat, a'gree, and conclude on the Pre'miſes, and other Affairs which 'ſhall then and there more 'clearly and fully be propoſed 'to you on our Part. And this 'you are not to neglect, as 'you tender us, the State of our 'Kingdom, and the Honour and 'Intereſt of the aforeſaid Church. 'Witneſs my ſelf, &c. at *Weſtminſter*, *Feb.* 6, and in the 14th 'Year of our Reign.

A Writ for calling a Convocation.

'WILLIAM, by Divine 'Permiſſion, Archbiſhop 'of *Canterbury*, Primate of all '*England*, and Legate from the 'Apoſtolick See, To our vene'rable Brother the Lord *Richard*, 'by the Grace of God, Biſhop 'of *London*, Health and bro'therly Charity in the Lord. 'Whereas the Church of *Eng'land*, which, in the Times of 'our Predeceſſors was want to 'enjoy many and great Liber'ties and Immunities, has lately 'been ſtrangely vexed and di'ſturbed

this Meeting was to reform ſome Abuſes in the Church: But it appears plain, that *Reformation* was not

'ſturbed, thro' the Malice and 'Wickedneſs of certain evil-'minded Men, either by ſub-'verting every thing that had 'been piouſly and holily or-'dained and authorized by our 'Predeceſſors, for the Tranqui-'lity of that Church, thro' their 'depraved and ſiniſter Interpre-'tations, or by abuſing the 'Clergy, whom they hold in 'Contempt, and in a manner 'foiled the ſaid Church, and 'trample her under their Feet: 'Leſt therefore the ſaid Church 'of *England* ſhould be brought 'to any extraordinary Calamity, 'Ruin, and Loſs, or far be it 'from its Deſolation, which the 'ſaid Church of *England* has 'long ſuſtained from divers Per-'ſons, who had not God before 'their Eyes, nor the Fear of the 'Cenſures of our Holy Mother 'the Church, and which it muſt 'ſuſtain, if there had been no 'Probability of a future Refor-'mation. We being deſirous, 'as it is our Duty, to provide 'congruent Remedies in this 'Caſe, and for that Purpoſe, 'willing to convoke the Pre-'lates and Clergy of our Pro-'vince of *Canterbury*, We charge 'and command you to cite, or 'that you cauſe to be cited pe-'remptorily, all and ſingular the 'Suffragans of our ſaid Church 'of *Canterbury*, reſiding in our 'ſaid Province, and the Vicars-'General in Spirituals of abſent 'Biſhops, if any there ſhould 'be; and the Keepers of the 'Spiritualties and Officials of 'vacant Sees, and, by them the 'Deacons and Priors of Cathe-'dral Churches and all their 'Chapters, Archdeacons, Ab-'bots and Priors holding Con-'vents, and other Prelates of 'Churches, Exempts and Non-'Exempts, and the Clergy of 'every Dioceſe of our ſaid Pro-'vince, We Will and Command 'that they be peremptorily ci-'ted and preadmoniſhed, that 'the ſaid Suffragan Biſhops, our 'Vicars-general, Deans, and 'Keepers, or Officials, Abbots, 'Priors, Archdeacons, and other 'Prelates Exempts and Non-ex-'empts, do perſonally appear 'before us, or our Deputies or 'Commiſſaries on this Occaſion, 'if we ſhould not be able to at-'tend ourſelves, which God for-'bid; and that every Chapter 'of Cathedral Churches do ap-'pear by a Graduate of the 'Chapter, or one more idone-'ous, and every of the ſaid Ab-'bots or Priors holding Con-'vents, notwithſtanding a law-'ful Impediment, do ſend a 'Graduate of ſuch Convent, if 'any there be, or ſome other 'more idoneous Perſon of the 'ſame Convent; and that the 'Clergy of every Dioceſe of our 'ſaid Province do ſend two gra-'duate Procurators of the ſame 'Dioceſe, or, if ſuch ſhould not 'be, to ſend two more ſufficient 'and capable Perſons, and actu-'ally reſiding in their Benefices 'in the ſaid Dioceſe, *viz* on *Sa-'turday* the 26th of the Month 'of *January*, &c.

'Given in our Manor of *Lam-'beth*, on the 1ſt of *November*, 'in the Year of our Lord 1509, 'and the 6th of our Tranſlation.'

not their chief Buſineſs, that of a Supply for the King ſeeming to have been what was principally intended.

The Clergy were no ſooner met, than the Cardinal told them, that Half of the full Value of their Livings for one Year was expected for the Service of his Majeſty; and, in order to induce them to grant ſo large a Subſidy, he propoſed they ſhould have five Years to pay it in.

Then the Cardinal made a florid Oration, enlarging on the King's Merit to the Church, and ſet forth, "That he had ſuppreſſed the *Schiſm* which had like "to have proved very troubleſome in Pope *Julius*'s "Time: That he had protected the See of *Rome* from "the Incroachments of the *French*: That he laboured "ſtrenuouſly to oppoſe the pernicious Doctrines of "*Luther*: That the *French* King was making War "againſt him, had ſent the Duke of *Albany* into *Scot-*"*land* to work up a Diſturbance on that ſide; and "therefore it was highly reaſonable the Clergy "ſhould exert themſelves, and aſſiſt his Majeſty in "Proportion to his Occaſions: And, as the King had "deſerved more from the Church, than any of his "Predeceſſors, they ought to ſhew themſelves ſenſi-"ble of their Happineſs by their Gratitude, and pay "their Acknowledgments by Actions, and not by "Words only."

The Cardinal was oppoſed in this Motion by his old Patron the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and the Biſhop of of *Rocheſter*, who objected, "That it was an un-"cuſtomary Demand, and ſo extremely large, that "the Clergy could ſcarce live under it: That it would "be drawn into Precedent for After-times; by which "Means the Burthen on the Church would be almoſt "intolerable."

But the Cardinal, who deſigned the Convocation ſhould be exemplary in their Subſidy, and lead the Way for the Parliament, became ſtill more ſtrenuous, alledg-

alledging, "That, ſhould the Clergy be ſparing in "aſſiſting the King at this Juncture, it might give "an evil Example to the Laity, and ſhew that the "Clergy were very ungrateful for the many Favours "that the King had beſtowed on the Church." Theſe Remonſtrances had the deſired Effect, and the Clergy agreed to grant the King what was deſired, and their Reaſons for ſo doing they aſſign in the Preamble * to the Grant.

By

Preamble to the Act of Subſidy granted by the Clergy.

'WHEREAS our moſt illuſtrious and powerful Lord the King of *England*, and *France*, Defender of the Faith, and Lord of *Ireland*, has always appeared the moſt conſtant Protector and moſt deſerving Patron of the Church, who, in the Pontificate of *Julius* the IId, of happy Memory, quelled a grievous Schiſm then broached in the Church of *Rome*, and afterwards with a powerful Army and an expenſive War moſt happily defended and ſecured the Church of *Rome* againſt the *French*, who then ſtudied to reduce *Italy* and the City of *Rome* to Servitude; and in theſe later Days confuted *Luther*'s Hereſy, which furiouſly raged againſt the Church and the State thereof, in a moſt learned and never ſufficiently to be praiſed Treaty; thus alternately defeating the Enemies of the Church with the *Sword* and *Pen*, by which Means he has conſecrated his own moſt illuſtrious Fame to Immortality: By his incomparable Goodneſs he had deſervedly ſuch Praiſes and Favours from the Church, as no one Mortal can well relate; but God grant him his due Rewards.

'And when the ſame King, our moſt illuſtrious Protector, had been provoked, irritated, and urged by the *French* King, on Account of his having conſtantly infeſted his Subjects contrary to Treaties, promiſed Faith, and his own ſafe Conduct; and, by exciting and encouraging the *Scots*, which he retained in his own Pay againſt this Kingdom, and the Duke of *Albany*, to the great Damage of the *Scots* Prince, our King's Nephew by the Siſter, and other many grievous Injuries againſt the King's Majeſty, and his Allies and Subjects daily multiplied, to undertake War both by Sea and Land, and powerfully to defend his own Kingdoms as becometh an invincible Prince, againſt the *French* and *Scots*; it was not proper longer to have any regard to Peace, after the *French* King had refuſed to liſten to the Pope's good Offices and Advice for an Accommodation; Forces are to be raiſed and Preparations made for War, which perhaps may laſt for

'many

By the Grant, all Foreigners beneficed in *England* were double charged; that is, they were to pay the full

' many Years: It is therefore ' moſt meet, that, on Account ' of the ſaid moſt egregious In- ' ſults, and as our moſt illuſtrious ' King has ſtruggled more than ' any of his Predeceſſors in the ' Defence, Intereſt, and Honour ' of the Church, and has been ' at great Charges, for carry- ' ing on the immenſe Expence ' of the War, for the Defence of ' the Church and this Kingdom ' in General, he ſhould be aſ- ' ſiſted by the Church in a Sub- ' ſidy, the like of which was ' never before granted to any ' preceding Kings; perhaps, the ' like ever be given hereafter ' to any of his Succeſſors, un- ' leſs on ſuch grateful Account, ' or the extreme Neceſſity of War. ' Wherefore, that the King's Ma- ' jeſty may be daily the more en- ' couraged to cheriſh and pro- ' teſt the Church, and the Cler- ' gy of *England*, and benignly ' to preſerve to the Church the ' Rights, Liberties, and Privi- ' leges granted to her, and oblige ' others to do the ſame; and leaſt ' it ſhould ſeem that the afore- ' ſaid Favours have been con- ' ferred on an ungrateful Set of ' Men.

' We, the Prelates and Clergy ' of the Province of *Canterbury*, ' in this holy Provincial Synod, ' or Convocation, of the Prelates ' and Clergy aforeſaid, aſſembled ' and commenced, in the Cathe- ' dral Church of *St. Paul, Lon- ' don*, on the 20th Day of *April*, ' in the Year of our Lord 1523, ' and continued from Day to Day ' till the 14th of *Auguſt*, then ' next following, inclusively, have ' decreed to give and grant unto ' the moſt illuſtrious Lord the ' King, perpetual and moſt pow- ' erful Defender of the Faith and ' Church, a Supply; and we ' moſt humbly beſeech, that our ' Benevolence may be pleaſing ' and acceptable to him, ex- ' preſly proteſting, that by this ' preſent Grant, which as new ' and uncuſtomary, we give our ' ſingular and perſonal Regard ' for the King's Majeſty, with- ' out any Example whatever; ' declaring, that it is not our In- ' tent, that this ſingular Inſtance ' ſhould be practiſed for the fu- ' ture, or conſtrued to the Pre- ' judice of the Church of *Eng- ' land*, or of our Succeſſors in ' any Reſpect: And, that, if we ' could foreſee that this preſent ' Grant ſhould ever ſerve as an ' Example, or as it is called, a ' Preſident, to exact and require ' ſuch like Conceſſions, we cer- ' tainly would have refuſed to ' conſent to it; and this Supply ' we give and grant under the ' Reſtrictions, Form, Conditions, ' Exceptions, Proviſions, and Pro- ' teſt above and under-written, ' and not otherwiſe, or in any ' other Shape, *viz.* The Supply ' to extend to the half Value of ' all Fruits, Rents, Incomes, and ' Poſſeſſions of one Year, of all ' and ſingular the Biſhopricks, ' Cathedral Churches, Colle- ' giate, Dignities, Hoſpitals, ' Monaſteries, Abbies, Priories ' and other Religious Houſes, as ' alſo of all other Eccleſiaſtical Be- ' nefices and Poſſeſſions, &c."

full of their annual Revenue in five Year's Time, ſave the Biſhops of *Worceſter* and *Landaff*, *Polydor Virgil*,* *Peter* the *Carmelite*, *Eraſmus*, *Silveſter Darius*, and *Peter Vannes*, who had the Benefit of an Exception, and were obliged to pay no higher than the Natives.

The Gentleman, who was the Author of the following Letter, ſeems to have been a Spectator of the Oppoſition in the Houſe of Commons, which, being very ſingular and addreſſed to a Noble Lord, we have given a Place here.

" PLEASETH your good Lordſhip to under-
" ſtand, that, ſithence the Beginning of the Par-
" liament, there hath been the greateſt and ſoreſt Hold
" in the Lower Houſe, for the Payment of the two
" Shillings of the Pound, that ever was ſeen, I think,
" in any Parliament. This Matter hath been debated
" and beaten 15 or 16 Days together. The higheſt Ne-
" ceſſity alledged, on the King's Behalf, to us, that
" ever was heard of: And, on the contrary, the
" higheſt Poverty confeſſed as well by Knights,
" Eſquires, and Gentlemen of every Quarter, as by
" the Commoners, Citizens, and Burgeſſes, there hath
" been ſuch Hold, that the Houſe had like to have
" been diſſevered. That is to ſay, The Knights,
" being of the King's Council; the King's Servants
" and Gentlemen of the one Party; which in ſo long
" Time were ſpoken with and made to ſay yea, it
" may fortune, contrary to their Heart, Will, and
" Conſcience. Thus hanging this Matter Yeſterday,
" the more Part, being the King's Servants and Gen-
" tlemen, were there aſſembled; and ſo they, being
" the more Part, willed and gave to the King two
" Shillings of the Pound of Goods or Lands, the
" beſt

* By the Exemption of *Polydor Virgil*, it appears, that the Cardinal was not ſo revengeful as his Enemies make him.

" beſt to be taken for the King. All Lands to pay " 2 *s.* * of the Pound from the Laity to the higheſt. " The Goods to pay 2 *s.* of the Pound from 20 *l.* " upwards; and from 40 *s.* of Goods to 20 *l.* to 16 *d.* " of the Pound; and under 40 *s.* any Perſon to pay " 8 *d.* This to be paid in two Years. I have heard " no Man, in my Life, that can remember that ever " there was given to any one of the King's Anceſtors " half ſo much at one Grant: Nor, I think, there " was never ſuch a Preſident ſeen before this Time.

" I beſeeke Almighty God it may be well and " peaceably levied, and ſurely paſſed unto the King's " Grace, without Grudge; and eſpecially *without* " *loſing the Good-will and true Hearts of his Subjects,* " *which, I reckon, is far greater Treaſure for the King,* " *than Gold and Silver.* † And the Gentlemen that " muſt take Pains to levy this Money among the " King's Subjects, I think, ſhall have no little Buſi- " neſs about the ſame. ‖

" My Lord Cardinal hath promiſed, on his Faith, " that the two Shillings of the Pound of Loan-money " ſhall be paid with a Good-will, and with Thanks, " but no Day is appointed thereof, *&c.*

" Alſo the Convocation among the Prieſts, the " Day of their Appearance, as ſoon as Maſs of the " Holy Ghoſt at *Paul*'s was done, my Lord Cardi- " nal cited them to appear alſo before his Convoca- " tion at *Weſtminſter*, which they ſo did; and there " was another Maſs of the Holy Ghoſt. And, with- " in ſix or ſeven Days, the Prieſts proved, that all " that my Lord Cardinal's Convocation ſhould do, " ſhould be void, becauſe that their Summons was " to

* What would they have ſaid to 4 *s.* in the Pound?

† A very true Maxim.

‖ This Gentleman's Conjecture in ſome Meaſure proved true; for the People in divers Counties murmurred to ſuch a Degree, that there were great Apprehenſions of Inſurrections in many Places; but, a good deal of Care being taken, they were in ſome time appeaſed again.

" to appear before my Lord of *Canterbury*, which " Thing, ſo eſpied, my Lord Cardinal hath addreſ- " ſed a new Citation into every Country, command- " ing the Prieſts to appear before him eight Days " after the *Aſcention*. And then, I think, they ſhall " have the third Maſs of the Holy Ghoſt. I pray " God, the Holy Ghoſt be among them and us both. " I do tremble to remember the End of all theſe " high and new Enterprizes; for oftentime it hath " been ſeen, that to a new Enterprize there followeth " a new Manner and ſtrange Sequel. God, of his " Mercy, ſend his Grace unto ſuch new Faſhion, that " it may be for the beſt!

" Written on *Aſcenſion-day*, by him that, during " his Life, ſhall be glad to be at your Com- " mandment, with his Service."

The Clergy of the Province of York *grant the King a Subſidy.* 1523.

The King alſo iſſued a Writ directed to Cardinal *Wolſey*, as Archbiſhop of *York*, for ſummoning a Convocation of the Clergy of the Province of *York*, to meet at a certain Time therein to be fixed, which being done, the Clergy of that Province readily complied with the Cardinal's Requeſt, which was to give the King the ſame Subſidy as that of *Canterbury* had already granted, which they accordingly did.

Hall ſays, " The Cardinal, by his Legatine Power, " diſſolved the Convocation held at *St. Paul*'s, which " had been called by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; " and that *Wolſey* called the Archbiſhop and his " Clergy to the Convocation at *Weſtminſter*. A Sight " never before ſeen in *England*, which induced Mr. " *Shelton*, a merry Poet, to write the following Lines " on that Occaſion."

Gentle Paul, *lay down thy Sword*;
For Peter *of* Weſtminſter *has ſhav'd thy Beard.*

Fiddes says, " It was thought such an irregular " Step, which had been taken by the Cardinal, in re- " moving, by his Legatine Authority, the Convoca- " tion from *St. Paul*'s to *Westminster*, that it would " render all the Proceedings in this last Place invalid; " wherefore they did not sit many Days before they " returned to *St. Paul*'s, from whence they had been " called."

Parker, in his *British Antiquities*, has represented this Part of *Wolsey*'s Conduct, not only as being without Precedent in History, but also importing a Crime of a most enormous Nature, *Inauditi Exempli Flagitium*, says he.

Fiddes will have it, " That Archbishop *Parker*'s Cen- " sure upon the Cardinal might have been expressed in " more gentle Terms; for that the Cardinal had thought " himself really invested with the Power which he pre- " tended to exercise, or desired to exercise, judging " that in such Character, he should be more able, at " the Head of the Convocation, to do the King greater " Service, in managing for the Supply; it having been " agreed upon, on all Hands, that *Wolsey*, as Archbi- " shop, had no Seat in the Convocation summoned by " *Warham*; tho' it is urged by some, that he might " have sate there as Abbot of *St. Alban*'s.

Rapin says, " These were the first Attempts made in " this Reign, to render the King Master of the Debates " in Parliament. Cardinal *Wolsey* was the first Author, " and, unfortunately for the Subjects, the King too " well improved his Minister's Instructions. Such Fa- " vourites as these have but too much Cause to fear " the Parliament, and therefore strive, to the utmost " of their Power, to lessen its Authority, by enlarg- " ing that of the Sovereign who supports them. " But their Labour is in vain, for very few fail, at " last, of falling into the Hands of that Authority " which they had endeavoured to destroy. *Wolsey* " was one of those who had the most openly abused

" the

" the Favour, not only againſt the Nation's, but alſo " againſt the King's Intereſt, which was much leſs " dear to him than his own. He ſtill aſpired to " the Papacy; *Adrian*'s great Age and Infirmities giv- " ing him Occaſion to hope his Pontificate would " not laſt long; and flattering himſelf that, by the " Emperor's Means, he ſhould be raiſed to that high " Dignity, therefore neglected nothing to preſerve " his Favour. This was the firſt of Cardinal *Wolſey*'s " intereſted Counſels, who *never regarded either Ho-* " *nour or Juſtice in gratifying his Paſſions.* He ex- " pected every thing from the Emperor, wherefore " uſed his utmoſt Endeavours to enlarge that Mo- " narch's Power, that he might be the better able to " perform his Promiſe."

But *Rapin* was a *Frenchman*, and, it is not to be doubted, concluded with himſelf, that *Wolſey* had formed Projects tending to nothing leſs than the Deſtruction of the *French* Monarchy; an Offence, in his Judgment, of ſo heinous a Nature, that it was not eaſily to be forgiven. No wonder then that he flies out into theſe Expreſſions, " It was not the Cardinal's Fault, that " *France* had not been entirely ruined; at leaſt *Wolſey* " formed ſuch Schemes and Plans this Year, in Con- " junction with the Emperor, as threatened the total " Diſſolution of that antient Monarchy."

But, *France* and *England* being then at open War, where was the Crime of his endeavouring to diſtreſs the Enemy of his King and Country? *Rapin*, indeed, does not pretend to ſay, that *Wolſey* had acted unfairly, or betrayed the Truſt repoſed in him; but that he attempted to deſtroy the *French* Monarchy, which certainly was right in him, or it was wrong for his Maſter to declare War againſt it. " But, ſays he, *Wolſey* " did all this out of Expectation of being rewarded " with the *Papacy*, thro' the Emperor's Intereſt."

Whatever might be the Motive upon which *Wolſey* had regulated his Conduct, it appears, when *Rapin*'s Account

Account is ſtripped of his perſonal Prejudice to that great Man, that *Wolſey* acted in this Matter as a conſummate Politician and faithful Miniſter ought to have done.

But hear him again, "*Wolſey* was never contented "with Eſtates or Honours. He *procured for him-* "*ſelf* the rich Biſhoprick of *Durham*, on the 24th of "*March*, in lieu of *Bath* and *Wells*. Two Months "after Pope *Adrian* prolonged his Legateſhip for five "Years, to commence from the Expiration of the "Term granted by *Leo* the Xth. Thus Eſtates and "Honours were inceſſantly *heaped upon him*, with- "out, however, ſatisfying his *Greedineſs*."

The King of Denmark *arrives in* England. 1523.

On the 15th of *June*, *Chriſtern*, King of *Denmark** and *Sweden*, with his Queen, having been expelled their Dominions by their Subjects, landed in *England*, and were honourably received by the King at *Greenwich*. *Henry*

* *Denmark* is one of the moſt antient Kingdoms in *Europe*, yet of no great Extent, Part of a vaſt Peninſula, called of old *Cimbricus-Cherſoneſus*; in later Times *Jutland*.

It was once a Part of the Kingdom of the *Goths*, but now a ſeparate Kingdom, made up of the North of *Jutland*, the Iſles *Zeeland*, *Fuymon*, and *Bornholm* in the *Baltick-Sea*, and Iſland in the *Vergivian Ocean*, with *Norway*, now annexed to it. *Copenhagen*, in *Zeeland*, is the Capital of the Whole.

There were alſo three Countries on the *Norway* Side, *Bleckle*, *Schania*, and *Haland*, which formerly belonged to *Denmark*: But in 1645, purſuant to the Treaty of *Brooms-boa*, theſe, and ſome other Iſlands, were ſurrendered, by *Charles* the IVth, to the *Swedes* for ever; and again, in 1658 and 1660, confirmed to them by *Frederick* the IIId; who alſo made the Succeſſion hereditary, which till then was elective.

This Kingdom had heretofore the Iſles of *Shetland*, on the North of *Scotland*, which were granted to *James* the VIth, as Part of his Queen's Dowry.

The King of *Denmark* poſſeſſes alſo in *Germany*, half of the Dutchy of *Holſatia*; the Counties of *Oldenburg* and *Delmenhort*, which two fell to him by Inheritance, from the laſt Count of *Oldenburg*.

The *Danes* have alſo enlarged their Prince's Bounds, by planting *New-Denmark* in *North-America*.

This Kingdom was one of the moſt

Henry was not content with ſhewing that Prince all the Marks of Reſpect due to a crowned Head, but renewed with him the Treaty of Alliance between *England* and *Denmark*, as if King *Chriſtern* had ſtill been in Poſſeſſion of his Realms.

Hall ſays, "This King and his Queen were entertained in a grand Manner by the City of *London*; and that, upon ſeeing the City-watch, he ſaid, *I would to God I had ſo many Archers, Pikemen* and *Halbardeers, then, I truſt, I could puniſh thoſe who have wrongfully diſpoſſeſſed me of my Country.*"

After they had made an agreeable Stay of 16 Days in *England*, they took ſhip at *Dover* for *Flanders*, expreſſing

moſt powerful in *Europe*, but by the Fate of Time, War, and other Calamities is reduced to the State in which it now is.

Sweden is a great and populous Kingdom, and contains the greateſt Part of that which was of old called *Scandinavia*. It is bounded on the North by *Lapland*, *Norway*, and the *Frozen Ocean*; on the Eaſt by *Muſcovy*, or *Great Ruſſia*; on the South by the *Baltick-Sea*; and on the Weſt by *Denmark* and *Norway*. The principal Parts of it are *Gothia*, *Sweden*, properly ſo called, *Norland*, *Finland*, *Ingria*, and *Livonia*; all which are ſub-divided into 34 Counties.

It has 17 Cities, whereof *Stockholm* is the Capital of all.

The Air of this Kingdom is very cold, clear or foggy as it happens to be nearer or remoter from the Seas, Lakes, and Marſhes; and more temperate and pure than that of *Norway*.

In Length, from *Stockholm* to the Borders of *Lapland*, 1000 *Italian* Miles, in Breadth twenty Days Journey on Horſe-back: So that, with all its Appendages, it is thought to be 900 Miles larger than *France* and *Italy* put together.

The Soil is more fertile than that of any other of the Northern Kingdoms, which enables them to export great Quantities of Malt and Barley; Braſs, Lead, Steel, Copper, and Iron; (and they have ſome Silver in their Mines) Hides of Goats, Bucks, and Oxen; rich Furs; Deals, and Oaks; Honey, and Tar; and vaſt Quantities of Salt and Freſh-water Fiſh.

The People are ſtrong and healthful, hoſpitable and civil; live ſometimes to 140 Years of Age; and ſo induſtrious that a Beggar is not to be ſeen amongſt them. Of latter Times they have ſhewn the World they were good Soldiers, and capable of Learning too.

preſſing great Satisfaction for the kind Reception they had met with at the *Britiſh* Court.

There is, in the *Exchequer* Record-Office in *Weſtminſter-Abbey*, an original Letter from this King to Cardinal *Wolſey*, after his Arrival in *Flanders*, filled with high Encomiums on him, and thus addreſſed,

CHRISTERNUS, *King of* Denmark, Sweden, Norway, *&c.*

To the Moſt Reverend Father and Lord, THOMAS, *by Divine Mercy, Cardinal, with the Title of* St. Cicile, *Archbiſhop of* York, *Primate of all* England, &c. *by much our moſt dear Protector and Friend.*

Given, under our Hand and Seal, at Mechlin, December 1, 1524.

Mr. *Salmon* obſerves, "That *Rapin* aſcribes the "hoſpitable Reception that the King of *Denmark* "met with in *England*, altogether to the Influence of "*Wolſey*, who paid his Court to the Queen of *Den-*"*mark*, becauſe ſhe was the Emperor's Siſter; and "that he ſtill hoped to arrive at the Pontificate by "her Brother's Intereſt." But, ſays Mr. *Salmon*, "*Rapin* might have ſpared his Invectives againſt "*Wolſey*, on this Occaſion, when there was another "very ſubſtantial Reaſon for careſſing thoſe Princes, "the Queen of *Denmark* being Niece to Queen *Ca-*"*therine*.

"*Wolſey*, no doubt, had very great Faults; but "how it comes to paſs that our Hiſtorians have "agreed to charge him with having been always in "the Wrong, and to impute every thing that was "done to his ſiniſter Views, is not eaſily to be ac-"counted for. However, *Rapin* by much exceeds "them all, and makes large Digreſſions to pick up

"every

" every little Circumſtance which he ſwells into Moun-
" tains, to render that Prelate *unworthily* odious." *

Affairs of Scotland. 1523.

Henry hoped, from what had paſſed laſt Year, that he ſhould have met with no Troubles from *Scotland*; but he ſoon found himſelf miſtaken; for the *Scots*, according to their old Way of proceeding, in the Beginning of this Year ſeemed to favour the *French*; and it is confidently affirmed, that the Reaſon, which induced the *Scots* ſo ſoon to change their Minds, was the freſh Accounts they had received of *Henry*'s Deſign on the Crown of *Scotland*, which revived their Jealouſies.

The King, the better to ſucceed in his Views, endeavoured to alienate the Affections of the *Scots* from the Duke of *Albany*, who was very obnoxious to him, under Pretence, that there was great Danger of his rendering himſelf Maſter of that Kingdom. He alſo took ſome Meaſures for gaining over the Queen, his Siſter,

* Mr. *Salmon*, in further Support of what he above alledges, ſpeaking of the Progreſs the *Reformation* had made in *England*, remarks, 'That Biſhop *Burnet*, 'notwithſtanding the vile Cha-'racter he has given Cardinal '*Wolſey* in other Places, is ſo 'juſt to his Memory as to obſerve, '*That he was no great Proſe-'cutor of Hereticks*: But, leſt 'this ſhould derive ſome Honour 'on the Cardinal's Memory, he 'adds, *That this was generally 'thought to flow from his Ha-'tred to the Clergy.* But then, 'as he has told us in other 'Places, *That this Averſion of 'the Cardinal's to the Clergy 'proceeded from their Immorali-'ties, and that he went a great 'Way in the* Reformation *of 'them*, impartial Men will be 'apt to have a better Opinion 'of his Eminence than that 'Prelate deſigned they ſhould, 'even from his own Account of 'him.'

Rapin, a Diſciple of the Biſhop's, from what he found in his Writings, concludes, '*That 'Cardinal* Wolſey, *in ſome mea-'ſure, countenanced the* Reforma-'tion *in* England; *and that, 'during his Adminiſtration, no 'Perſon was perſecuted for He-'reſy*: And other Writers ſug-'geſt, that this was the Reaſon 'that he always miſſed the Pa-'pacy, tho' he had ſo great an 'Intereſt in the ſacred College, 'the Cardinals dreading nothing 'ſo much as his *Reforming Spirit.*' — A glorious Character truly! and that even from his inveterate Enemies.

Sister, from the Engagements she had entered into with the Duke, by promising to procure her the Regency. He accordingly pressed more earnestly the Parliament of *Scotland*, to remove the Duke of *Albany*, and confer the Regency on the Queen: And, to render his Importunities the more effectual, he resolved to use his utmost Diligence to prevent the Duke's Return; but in vain; tho' he had sent out a Fleet for that Purpose, the Command of which was given to Sir *William Fitz Williams*, in hopes to take him in his Passage, when he heard that *Albany* was speedily to sail for *Scotland*, to re-assume his Regency.

The Admiral, on a Cruise, discovered 12 *French* Ships, (in one of which were the Archbishop of *Glasgow*, and other Persons of Quality, who the Duke had sent before him into *Scotland*, in order to prepare Matters for his Reception) to which he gave Chace, two whereof were lost near *Diepe*; but the others got safe into *Scotland*.

Henry sent also an Army of 6000 Men into *Scotland*, under the Command of the Earl of *Surry*, and ordered *Thomas Grey*, Marquis of *Dorset*, Warden of the East and Middle Marches; and the Lord *Dacres*, Warden of the West Marches, to join him.

The *Scots* being without a Leader, and unprepared to go against this Invasion, sustained great Damage, during the Campaign. *Henry*'s Adherents loudly declared, that the only Way to save *Scotland* from Ruin was to make Peace with *England*, whom he supported by offering the Infant King, his Nephew, his Infant Daughter in Marriage.

This Offer was extremely merry; for the King had by this time proposed or promised her to three different Princes, neither of whom married her: But at last was left to make her own Choice, which she did when she became Queen, by marrying *Philip*, K. of *Spain*.

His Majesty also required the *Scots* to break their Engagements with *France*. To which Proposal the opposite

poſite Party replied, "That the King of *England* "ſought to diſengage *Scotland* from *France*, only the "more eaſily to ruin the Kingdom, and that the de- "ſtroying with Fire and Sword a Country, whoſe "Friendſhip was courted, was a ſtrange Way of de- "ſiring an Alliance and propoſing a Marriage." Theſe Reaſons were anſwered by the King's Friends; but their Behaviour tended only to augment the Diſorder and Confuſion amongſt the *Scots*.

However, *Henry* ordered the Earl of *Surry* to return into *England*; but he had ſcarce ſent his Men into Winter-quarters, before the *Scots* made Inroads on the Borders of *England*, which obliged the Earl to march a ſecond Time into *Scotland*, where he made himſelf Maſter of *Jedburg*.

The Duke of *Albany*, hearing what had paſſed in *Scotland*, burned with a Deſire of returning thither; eſpecially as *Francis* the Iſt had granted him an Aid of 3000 Men, to render him the more able to make a Diverſion from that Quarter againſt *England*; but it was not poſſible to tranſport the Troops whilſt the *Engliſh* kept at Sea; he therefore feigned to deſiſt from his Deſign, and ſent his Forces into Quarters remote from the Coaſt, and the Tranſport-ſhips were likewiſe ſent away; with Orders, notwithſtanding, to march, and the Ships to be ready, on the firſt Notice.

This Stratagem had the deſired Effect; for the Admiral, having been informed, that the Duke was returned to Court, and had diſmiſſed his Troops and Ships, thought there was nothing to be feared this Year, and therefore returned with his Fleet to *England*.

The Duke, having Intelligence thereof, inſtantly aſſembled his Troops and Ships, embarked about the middle of *September*, and on the 24th arrived in *Scotland*, accompanied by *Richard de la Pole*, Brother to the late unfortunate Earl of *Suffolk*, who was beheaded, as is before related.

The Duke of Albany calls a Parliament.

The Regent's unexpected Arrival revived the Courage of the *French* Party, and he immediately called a Parliament, which, being met, he opened it by a Speech, wherein he talked "of the Love and Favour the King of "*France* bore to *Scotland*; insomuch, that, being in-"formed of the many Murthers, Slaughters, and "Dissolations of Places, in *Scotland*, committed by "the *English*, he looked upon them as done to him-"self, accounting himself as one of their Members, "and they likewise Members of him and his Realm; "and, for the revenging the same, he was resolved "to be Partners with them, as would amply appear "from his Letter." Then the Letter was read to the Parliament; after which the Lord *Forbes* got up, and said, "That the Kingdom of *Scotland*, by assist-"ing of *France*, had suffered great Damage, as it "now daily did; our Nobles are killed, our Com-"mons are murdered, our Lands are over-run, our "Houses are burned, and the Profits of our Estates "are lost, and all this we should not have suffered, "had we not fallen into the French Interest.* A far "Friend is not so fit as keeping fair with a mighty "Neighbour; for, if we had kept in Peace with "*England*, all the Calamities, that had happened, "would have been prevented."

To this the Duke of *Albany* replied, "God forbid! "my Lords, that *Scotland* should ever seek the Ami-"ty of the Destroyers of their Country and Nation; "but you, my Lords of *Scotland*, are sufficient of "yourselves to maintain your Lands, Liberties, and "Freedoms; and let us revenge the Injury we have "sustained from the *English*; and I promise, on my "Honour, to head you, and for that End have "brought over Treasure, Men, and Artillery; and "fear

* A bold and noble Observation, worthy a *Scots* Peer, which Posterity has found the Truth of. See almost all *Europe* now in Arms thro' adhering to French Interest!

" fear not but we ſhall ſo act as to make our Names " famous throughout *Chriſtendom*." This volatile *French* Harangue ſo rouſed the *Scotch*, that the Majority of the Parliament aſſented to the Duke's Propoſal, and then broke up: But the Duke, by the 28th of *Oct.* got his Army together, and marched to the River *Twede*.

Henry, being informed of what was tranſacting, cauſed the People of the *North* to aſſemble alſo, of which there were ſoon got together above 3000, bearing Coats of Arms, and theſe Forces were commanded to join the Earl of *Surry*. In the mean time, the Care of preſerving *Berwick* upon *Twede* was committed to the Marquis of *Dorſet*, with a Garriſon of 300 Men.

The Duke of *Albany*, finding that the Earl of *Surry* was in full March to meet him, ſent him a Herald, " Offering to give him Battle, and withal " promiſed, if he ſhould take him Priſoner, his Life " ſhould be ſafe, and would ſuffer him to be ran- " ſomed." *

To this the Earl replied, " That he thanked him, " and was ready to give him Battle; but, if he " took him Priſoner, he would cut his Head off, " and ſend it to his Maſter." † This was highly reſented both by *Albany* and the *Scots*.

The Earl of *Surry* was ſoon joined by the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Weſtmoreland*; and the Lords *Clifford*, *Dacres*, *Lumley*, *Darcy*, and *Ogle*; with many Northern Knights, Eſquires, and Yeomen, to the Amount of about 11,000: His Majeſty ſent alſo from his Court Sir *Nicholas Carew*, Maſter of the Horſe; Sir *Francis Bryant*, Sir *Edward Baynton*, and many others.

Whilſt this Army was on the Borders of *Scotland*, waiting for the Enemy to attack them, *Albany* ſent 4000 *French* and *Scotch* into *England*, who beſieged a little

* This is *French* Gaſconading with a Witneſs.

† Very rough and uncourtly, indeed, but a true *Engliſh* Reply.

little Caſtle, called *Work-caſtle*, which was defended by Sir *William Lyſle*, who, making a vigorous Reſiſtance, repulſed them with much Slaughter; and, before the Earl of *Surry* could come to their Relief, the *French* and *Scotch* were retreated back into *Scotland*.

Hall relates, "When the Duke of *Albany* and "the *Scotch* Lords found, that the Earl of *Sur-*"*ry* was advanced very near them, they thought "it not convenient to hazard all the Nobility of "*Scotland* in one Field, as they had done ten Years "before, which induced the Duke and his Army in "the Night, of the 2d of *Nov.* to retreat, which was "more for their *Safety* than their *Honour*."

And, this Hiſtorian further tells us, "That, when "the *Engliſh* ſaw the *Scotch* were retreated, many "a luſty *Engliſhman* would fain have followed them "on Horſe-back, and ſo would the Earl of *Surry* "with all his Heart; but his Commiſſion was only "to defend the Realm, and not to invade *Scotland*, "at which he was very uneaſy. Thus broke up the "great Army of *Scotland*, to the great Rebuke of "the Duke of *Albany* and the Nobles of *Scotland*, "which for two Years together had made Brags and "Aſſemblies, and yet durſt not abide the Battle.

"After this Queen *Margaret* of *Scotland*, and Mo-"ther to the young King, ſent to her Brother, the "King of *England*, for an Abſtinence of War be-"tween the two Crowns; which Requeſt was granted "her; and then the great Army of *England* was "diſmiſſed, and the Earl of *Surry* returned to "Court."

Further Account of the War.

1523. During theſe Tranſactions Preparations were carrying on for the Invaſion of *France*, which, however, for a Time was poſtponed, in hopes of ſeeing *Francis* over the *Alps*, and there engaged in the Purſuit of what he had ſo much at Heart, the repairing his Loſſes in *Italy*; and in

in that Interval his Majeſty was pleaſed to confer the Honour of Knighthood on *John Villers*, Eſq;*

As ſoon as *Francis* was ſet out for *Italy*, the Troops embarked for *France* under the Command of the Duke of *Suffolk*, accompanied by the Lords *Montagu*, *Herbert*, *Ferrers*, *Marney*, *Sands*, *Berkley*, *Powis* and *Curzon*, beſides a great Number of Knights, Eſquires, and Gentlemen; and, in the Beginning of *Sept.* they landed at *Calais*. This Army was 13,000 ſtrong. The Van-guard was commanded by the Lord *Sands*, the Right Wing by Sir *William Kingſton*, the Left by Sir *Edward Digby*, the Rear by Sir *Richard Wingfield*, and Sir *Edward Guilford* was Captain of the Horſe. They joined Count *Brures*, the Emperor's General, on the 20th of *Sept.* and together made about 35,000 Foot and 6000 Horſe.

The Marſhal *Trimoville*, who now commanded in *Picardy*, was ſo inferior in Number of Troops, that he was not able to keep the Field; and therefore thought it beſt to throw Succours into the Places moſt expoſed, and ſpeedily to inform the King of what paſſed in theſe Parts.

Francis the Iſt, being then at *Lyons*, was extremely embarraſſed with many unexpected Invaſions, "Who, as "*Rapin* ſays, had been deceived by falſe Advices "from *England*, which put him in hopes, that *Picar-*"*dy* would be ſafe and unmoleſted this Year. But "that,

* Sir *John* was Son and Heir of Sir *John Villers*, deſcended from an antient Family in *Normandy*, who came over with *William*, by ſome ſtiled *the Conqueror*, and ſucceeded his Grandfather in the Lordſhip of *Brookeſby*, 20 *Hen.* VI. He was Knighted 22 *Hen.* VII. on the Marriage of Prince *Arthur* with *Catherine* of *Arragon*, and died *Dec.* the 2d, 22 *Hen.* VII. Of this Family was the great Duke of *Buckingham*, murdered by *Felton* in King *Charles* the Iſt's Time; and the Right Hon. *William*, the preſent Earl of *Jerſey*, is deſcended from this Knight, and ſucceeded to his Father, the late Earl of *Jerſey*, on the 13th of *July*, 1721. His Lordſhip married, on the 23d of *June*, 1733, the Lady *Ann Egerton*, Daughter to the preſent Duke of *Bridgwater*, and Widow of *Wriotheſly*, the late Duke of *Bedford*.

" that, when the Army had appeared there, he was " convinced his Enemies, in that Quarter, intended " to make their greateſt Effort." In this Perplexity he diſpatched the Duke of *Vendome* with all the Troops he could aſſemble, to defend *Picardy* and ſecure *Paris*, where he did not queſtion the Alarm muſt be very great.

The confederate Army, having marched as far as *Corbin*, within 11 Leagues of *Paris*, without undertaking any Thing conſiderable, received the News of the Duke of *Vendome*'s Orders to diſpute the Field with them. On this the Allies called a Council of War, who did not think it adviſeable to proceed any farther, eſpecially as the Seaſon was ſo far advanced; nor were they ſure of not being hemmed in between *Vendome* and *Trimoville*, ſuppoſing they ſhould get an Army together. Theſe Conſiderations weighed ſo far with them, that theyconcluded on a Retreat; but in their Return they made themſelves Maſters of *Bouchain*, and ſoon after retired into *Artois*. Had this Army taken the Field ſooner, *Francis* would ſcarcely have had it in his Power to have ſtopt their Career: And the Miſcarriage was chiefly owing to the Non-performance of the Conſtable *Bourbon*'s ſtipulated Undertakings againſt *France*.

Towards the End of *Dec.* our Forces were recalled, and ſafely landed in *England*.

Mr. *Salmon* takes notice, " That here *Rapin*, con- " trary to the expreſs Teſtimony of other Writers, " and particularly the Lord *Herbert*, affirms, *That* " *the Confederates retired on the Approach of an Army of* " 40,000 *of his Countrymen*; whereas this noble Hiſto- " rian avers, *That the* French *had no Army on Foot* " *on the of Side* Picardy *at that Time, having ſent the* " *groſs of their Troops into the* Milaneſe."

Marſhal *Lautrec* was now reſtored to Favour, and the Command of the Army in *Guienne* was given him, where

where he was employed to defend the Frontiers againſt *Spain*, gained very great Glory; for the *Spaniards* beſieged *Bayonne* both by Sea and Land; at which Siege the Marſhal executed his Truſt with ſo much Zeal, that he threw himſelf into the Place, and, tho' he had but a very ſmall Garriſon, ſo well defended it, that he forced the Enemy to raiſe the Siege: After which Check the *Spaniards* repaſſed the Mountains.

In the mean time the Count of *Guiſe* commanded on the Frontiers of the Dutchy of *Burgundy* and *Franche Comté*, where he behaved with ſuch Conduct and Bravery, as enabled him to defeat the Deſigns of 12,000 *Lanſquenets*, who had penetrated into it, by cutting off their Proviſions, obliging them to retire, and routing their Rear as they were repaſſing the *Maeſe*.

Such ſeaſonable Stands, made in three different Parts of the Kingdom at once, as it were, gave infinite Pleaſure to the Court of *France*. The firſt Damp after which the King received was from *Fuenterabia*, where he leaſt expected to have had ill Succeſs; which important Place was ſurrendered to the *Spaniards* by Captain *Frauget*, after one Month's Siege, though Monſ. *Lude* had defended it a whole Year not long before, notwithſtanding the Scarcity of Proviſions and the ill State of the Garriſon. But *Frauget* was, for his Miſconduct, degraded of his Nobility with the moſt ignominious Circumſtances; though he had ſhewn his Valour upon ſeveral Occaſions before, yet it was his unhappy Lot to be here deſerted by it.

The D. of Bourbon *enters into a Treaty againſt* France. 1523.

The next Matter that gave *Francis* Uneaſineſs was this: The Counteſs of *Angouleſme*, not ſatisfied with having ſhewn her Reſentment to the Conſtable, *Bourbon*, by prevailing on the King, not to truſt him with any Command in the Army, which ſhe thought too ſlight a Revenge for

her ſcorned Love, next commenced a Suit againſt the *Conſtable* for nothing leſs than his whole Eſtate; by this *Bourbon* perceived, that his utter Ruin was now reſolved on, which put him upon throwing himſelf into the Emperor's Arms.

That Monarch, being informed of the *Conſtable*'s Inclination by *Adrian* of *Croy*, a conſiderable Lord in the *Netherlands*, was unwilling to miſs ſo great an Opportunity, as that of uſing the very Inſtrument that could raiſe up inteſtine Troubles againſt *Francis*, and likely to break all his Projects for reſtoring his Affairs in *Italy*. The Emperor therefore, to make ſure of the *Conſtable*, ſent *Beaurain*, his Chamberlain; and *Henry* alſo ſent Sir *John Ruſſel*, one of the Gentlemen of his Bed-chamber, *in cognito*, with Letters of Credence, who met the Emperor's Agent at *Montbriſon* in *le Forez*, where they propoſed, that the *Conſtable* ſhould marry *Eleonora* of *Auſtria*, the King of *Portugal*'s Widow, and Siſter to the Emperor, with Advantages proportionable to ſuch an Alliance. *Bourbon* yields to the Propoſals, and promiſes to aſſiſt both the Emperor and the King of *England*, with all his Power, in the War they had concerted to wage againſt *France*, which thoſe two Monarchs accepted of, and entered into a formal Treaty with him, wherein this was ſtipulated, "That, after the "Conqueſt of *France*, *Provence* ſhould be erected "into a Kingdom."

His Imperial Majeſty alſo promiſed to appoint his *Siſter*, his Heir, in caſe himſelf and his Brother ſhould die without Iſſue.

Bourbon reſolved to bring an Army of his Friends and Vaſſals into the Field, to which the Emperor engaged to join 7 or 8000 Men, which Forces were to act in the Bowels of *France*, whilſt the Emperor and *Henry* invaded *Bearn* and *Picardy*.

Francis, ignorant of the Deſigns of his Enemies, was wholly intent on preparing to recover the Dutchy of

of *Milan*, and was determined to command his Army in Perſon.

The *Venetians*, ſome time waiting for the coming of a *French* Army into *Italy*, declined entering into a Treaty with the Enemies of *France*: But, finding the Seaſon advanced to the Month of *July*, and no Army appearing, they were reduced to the Neceſſity of coming into a League againſt *France*.

His Holineſs's ſole View was to reconcile the *Chriſtian* Princes, by prevailing on them to conſent to a *Truce*, and, to recommend the ſame, he publiſhed a Bull: But this, however, no way diverted the King of *France* from his deſigned Expedition againſt *Milan*; which his Adverſaries take the Advantage of, by repreſenting to the Pope, that *Francis* alone, by his Non-compliance and Obſtinacy, was the ſole Occaſion of the War, and even prevented the *Chriſtian* Princes from joining their Forces againſt the *Turks*.

Adrian, believing theſe Charges againſt *Francis* to be true, changed his Mind, and was alſo brought to conclude a Treaty againſt *France*, in Conjunction with the Emperor, the King of *England*, *Ferdinand*, Archduke of *Auſtria*, the Duke of *Milan*, the *Genoeſe*, and the *Florentines*, and the ſame was ſigned on the 3d of *Auguſt*, which was but a few Days after the *Venetians* had deſerted *Francis*. However, it was kept very ſecret, and the Emperor, in the mean time, ſeemed wholly to neglect the Defence of *Milan*, on purpoſe to draw *Francis* into *Italy*.

The King of *France*, having been all this while kept in the dark, with reſpect to the Treaties concluded againſt him, and buoyed up with Hopes of Succeſs, departed from *Lyons* in his Way to *Italy*; and the Allies waited with great Impatience for the News of his Arrival; purpoſing then to put all their Schemes in Execution. *Francis*, in ſhort, left no Troops in *Burgundy*, but few in *Guienne* and *Bearn*;

and *Picardy* was in a very ill State of Defence. Nevertheleſs he thought proper to order the *Conſtable* to attend him into *Italy*; who, in order to avoid going with the King, pretended to be ſick at *Moulins*. But his Majeſty, on the Road to *Lyons*, was informed, by two of the *Conſtable*'s Domeſticks, that their Maſter held a private Correſpondence with the Emperor and *England*.

Surprized at this News, *Francis* altered his Tour, and made it in his Way, to call at the *Conſtable*'s Seat, who, being in Bed, he accoſted with a very friendly Air, and, having made every Body retire, frankly told him what he had heard, and, "That he did "not doubt but the Suit, which was carrying on "againſt him, had chagrined him very much; but "aſſured him he might depend on his Goodneſs, "that, if he ſhould loſe his Cauſe, he would return "him all his Eſtate."

The *Conſtable*, without appearing confounded at what the King had diſcovered, confeſſed, "That the "Emperor and *England* had made Propoſals to him, "but he had refuſed to hearken to them; that he "intended to have informed his Majeſty of the Affair, but was prevented, by his Illneſs, from coming "to Court; and, it being Matter of great Importance, he did not care to truſt the Secret to any "body, having reſolved, the firſt Opportunity, to communicate it to his Majeſty in Perſon: That, to "ſhew his Zeal for his Service, he would, as ſoon "as he was recovered, follow him into *Italy*." *Francis*, who judged of every one's Sincerity by his own, was ſatisfied with this Anſwer, contrary to the Opinion of the wiſeſt of his Council, who adviſed him to ſecure the *Conſtable*; to which he would not agree, but purſued his Journey.

Bourbon, a few Days after, ſet out, under Pretence of following his Maſter, and was carried in a Litter; for he ſtill pretended that his Illneſs continued: But, having

having Notice, that two of his Confidants at Court had been arrefted, he privately withdrew from his Attendants, and, taking only one of his Gentlemen with him, went off, arrived at *Trent* in *Germany*, and from thence was ſoon ſent by the Emperor into the *Milaneſe*, with the Title of his Lieutenant in *Italy*.

The Deſertion of this noble Duke gave *Francis* a great deal of Trouble; tho' the *Conſtable*'s fortified Places, together with ſeveral Lords and Gentlemen, who were ſuppoſed to be concerned in this Affair, were immediately ſeized; but the King thought it would not be prudent to go into *Italy* at ſuch a Juncture; ſo that Admiral *Bonnivet* was entruſted with the whole Management of the War in that Country, being equipped with a very fine Army, conſiſting of 25,000 Foot, compoſed of *French*, *Lanſquenets*, and *Swiſs*; and a great Number of *Gendarmery*, beſides the Light-horſe. With theſe Forces the Admiral paſſed the *Alps* in the beginning of *Sept.* about the ſame Time, the Emperor aſſembled his Forces in *Spain*, the *Engliſh* landed at *Calais*, to act in Conjunction with the *Flemings* in *Picardy*, and the *Lanſquenets* arrived in *Franche Comté*; but what was done in theſe Parts we have already related.

The Caſtle of *Milan*, where *Lautrec* had left a Garriſon, ſurrendered in *April* precedeing, whereby the *French* were left without any Place of Importance in the *Milaneſe*, except the Caſtle of *Cremona*, which was cloſely blocked up. And as all the Powers of *Italy* had entered into a League againſt *Francis*, *Proſper Colonna*, believing he would not attempt to execute his Deſigns on *Italy*, took no care to repair the Fortifications in that Country: Yet, upon Advice of Admiral *Bonnivet*'s paſſing the *Alps*, he drew together all his Forces to defend the Paſſage of *Teſin*; but he came too late, and was forced to retire to *Milan* in the utmoſt Confuſion; nay, he

was

was reſolved to abandon that City, if the *French*, by an infatuated Negligence, had not given ſome Days Time to repair the Works.

Colonna had but 15,000 Men, with which he could not expect to defend ſo large a City againſt an Enemy who had above 30,000 fine Troops. However, Experience had taught him, that an Enemy did not always act according to ſuch Meaſures as would be moſt to their Advantage, and, encouraged by this Reflection, he gave Orders for repairing the Fortifications of ſuch Places as were in moſt Need thereof, concluding, at laſt, in caſe the *French* ſhould be as expeditious as they ought to have been, he could but withdraw. If the *French* General had marched directly to *Milan*, the Gates would have been open'd to him; but he ſtaid three or four Days by the Way, which enabled the Emperor's General to put ſeveral Places into a Poſture of Defence; and this was owing to the Count of *Milan*'s *Fineſſe*, who perſuaded *Bonnivet* to make a Halt there, aſſuring him he would raiſe a Tumult in *Milan*.

However, he approached the City when it was too late, and, finding it in a good Poſture of Defence, he encamped at *Chiazavalla*, in hopes of cutting off the Proviſions deſigned for *Milan*, and thereby have the *Germans* at his Mercy: But he laid his Meaſures ſo ill, that, after having obſtinately perſiſted in his Deſign till the 11th of *Nov.* himſelf was forced to remove from *Milan* for want of Proviſions; and the only Good he did was to relieve the Caſtle of *Cremona*, by the Aſſiſtance of the famous Chevalier *Bayard*. This Caſtle the brave *John Herbonville* defended two Years, and died there a little while before, leaving only eight Soldiers in it, into whom he had infuſed ſo much Courage, that they were reſolved to ſtand it out to the laſt Man.

Thus ended *Bonnivet*'s Campaign, and he retired to *Biagroſſa* near the *Teſin*, where he fortified himſelf, in

MARTIN LUTHER
N. Parr Sculp

in order to ſpend the Winter, and wait for Succours from *France* at the Opening of the next Campaign; and where we ſhall for the preſent leave him.

Proſper Colonna died a little before the Campaign ended, and *Guicciardin* ſays, "he had lain eight Months ſick, and died "at laſt not without Suſpicion of Poiſon." He was an able Soldier and a good Captain, a Father of Soldiers, an able Director of their Counſels and Diſpoſitions, an Example of Virtue, and a Guide to true Fame. He was naturally very eaſy and ſlow in his Actions, and ſought always to adminiſter more with Counſel than with the Sword. He judged it beſt to defend States rather by temporizing, and, not without great Neceſſity, to commit doubtful Succeſs to the Hazard of Battles or Precarioufneſs of Fortune. *Colonna's Death and Character.*

Upon his Death the Command of the Army was given to *Lanoy*, Vice-roy of *Naples*; but, the Seaſon being too far advanced, nothing of Moment happened in theſe Parts till the End of the Year, when the Duke of *Bourbon* took upon him the Command of the Emperor's Forces; though not without giving *Lanoy* great Diſguſt, who, with much Reluctancy, reſigned his Poſt.

The State of Religion in the Beginning of this Year ſtood thus; the Canton of *Zurich*, moved by the Preaching of *Zuinglius*, renounced divers religious Articles they had hitherto profeſſed; but the Difference between *Luther* and *Zuinglius*, about *Conſubſtantiation*, much hindered the Progreſs of the Reformation, *Zuinglius*'s Party being called *Sacramentarians*, and *Luther*'s *Ubiquitarians*. *Calvin* ſucceeded *Zuinglius*, who, by his Doctrine of Predeſtination, *&c.* ſo widened the Breach between the *Lutherans* and *Calviniſts*,* that they became irrecon- *State of Religion.*

* *Calvin* was born at *Noyon* in *Picardy*, was ſtiled one of the chief Reformers of the Church, and after his Father's Death he went to *Paris*; but the Reformation being very roughly treated here, he

conciliable; ſo that the *Lutherans* at *Leypſick*, where they are very rigid, have ſet up in their great Church the Picture of *Ignatius Loyala*, *Calvin*, and the *Devil*, in one Frame with this Inſcription, *The three great Enemies of Chriſt and Chriſtian Religion.*

Some modern Hiſtorians in *France* and *England* relate, "That many began to diſlike the Profeſſion of "a Religion, that ſeemed to be founded rather upon "the *Pope* than JESUS CHRIST."

Adrian, hearing of the daily Progreſs of *Luther*'s Doctrines in *Germany*, diſpatched a Nuncio to the Diet at *Nuremberg*, to exhort the *German* Princes to deſtroy *Luther* and his Followers."

And it is certain the Pope, in a Letter to theſe Princes, highly reflected upon *Luther*'s Actions; tho' at the ſame time confeſſed, that many Abuſes and Diſorders were crept into the Church; but laid the Blame upon thoſe who had governed before him; and obſerved, that to reform all at once would be the Way to ſpoil all, and that it was beſt to proceed by Degrees in any *Reformation*: And theſe are his Inſtructions to his Nuncio who attended the Diet. "You ſhall acquaint them, that we ingenuouſly own, "that God has ſuffered his Church to be perſecuted "by the *Lutherans*, becauſe of the Sins of Men, "eſpecially of the *Prieſts* and *Prelates* of the Church. "The Scriptures teſtify, that the Sins of the People "pro-

he went to *Baſil*, where he wrote his *Inſtitutions*. He was made Profeſſor of *Geneva*, 1536, where he made the People ſwear to a *Confeſſion of Faith*; from whence two Miniſters, diſliking his Proceedings, retired much diſguſted. He went to *Straſburg*, ſet up a *French* Church, profeſſed Divinity, aſſiſted at a Diet at *Worms* and *Ratiſbon*, and had a Conference with *Melancthon*. Being invited again to *Geneva*, he yielded to their Importunity, and firſt of all ſettled a Form of Diſcipline in 1541, and a Conſiſtorial Juriſdiction, even to Excommunication, which were reviewed by an Aſſembly of the People in the ſame Year. His Rigour procured him many Enemies before he died, which was on the 25th of *April*, 1564. In ſhort, he defended the Burning of Perſons for Religion, which did but ill become a *Reformer*.

" proceed from the Sins of the *Prieſts*. For this Rea-
" ſon St. *Chryſoſtom* obſerves, that, when our Saviour
" was about to cure the City of *Jeruſalem* of its
" Diſeaſes, he went into the Temple, that he might
" firſt of all chaſtiſe the Sins of the Prieſts, like a
" good Phyſician that ſtrikes at the Root of the
" Diſtemper. We are ſenſible, that, for ſome Years
" paſt, there have been many *Abominations* in the
" *Holy See*, Abuſes in Spirituals, Exceſſes in Man-
" dates, and, in fine, every Thing changed for the
" worſe; and it is not to be admired, if the Diſeaſe
" has deſcended from the Head to the Members,
" from the *Pontiffs* to the inferior *Prelates*. *All we*
" *Prelates*, I mean *Eccleſiaſticks*, have gone aſtray,
" every one into his own Paths, and there has not
" been one, for a long Time, who has done good,
" no not one!"

A *Proteſtant* Writer imagines, that the Cardinals ſo ſtrongly reſented this Pope's diſhonouring the Court of *Rome* in this Manner, in the Diet of the Empire, and burning a Man for the Crime of Beaſtiality, that they ſhortened his Life.

As to *Luther*, when he ſaw the Letter the Pope had wrote to the Diet, and had ſeverely reflected on him and his Proceedings, he thought proper to publiſh it in the *German* Tongue, with Notes of his own by way of Juſtification.

On the other hand the Diet, taking Advantage of what the Pope had confeſſed in his Letter, demanded a free Council in *Germany*, where every one ſhould be obliged upon Oath to ſpeak his real Opinion. But, before any Thing of this kind could be obtained, the Pope died, and the Diet broke up, as that at *Worms* had done before, without coming to any Determination for the *Reformation* of the Church.

However, *Luther* ſtill continued to write in Defence of his Doctrine, and publiſhed an Anſwer to the King of *England*'s Book, which he treated with

ſuch great Freedom, that *Henry* complained of it to the Princes of the Houſe of *Saxony*, and exhorted them to hinder the Publication of *Luther*'s *German-Bible*, *Leſt*, ſays he, *the Tranſlation ſhould vary from the Truth*: But his Letter had no great Effect.

Luther was ſo uneaſy at Cardinal *Wolſey*'s oppoſing his Doctrine, and treating his Followers as *Hereticks*, that he ſent a Letter to King *Henry*, filled with unworthy Reflections on *Wolſey*, and ſays, "That the "Cardinal was rather ſeeking his own Intereſt, than "that of either his Prince or Country."

But the King was pleaſed, in Anſwer, to aſſure *Luther*, "That both himſelf and his whole Realm had found "the profitable Effects of Cardinal *Wolſey*'s Endea"vours; and who ſhould reap this Fruit from his "Railing: That, whereas he loved the Cardinal very "well before, he now would favour him more than "ever.

"I confeſs, ſays Dr. *Fiddes*, it were to be wiſhed, "that *Luther* had been more temporate in his Way "of Writing, and that, with his great and invincible "Courage and ardent Zeal for the Truth, he had "diſcovered greater Moderation and Reſerve; but "theſe Faults which are moſt commonly com"plexional, prevent not our Eſteem of Men, when, "in other reſpects, we perceive in them a good "Fund of Piety, and Virtues perfectly heroick; ſuch "as were ſeen to ſhine in *Luther*. We cannot refuſe "to praiſe the Zeal of *Lucifer*, Biſhop of *Cagliari*; "or, to admire the great Qualities of St. *Jerom*, "though we diſcover too much Keenneſs and Outrage "in their Stile. And perhaps there was ſome Neceſ"ty, at the Time of the *Reformation*, to employ the "ſtrongeſt Expreſſions, the better to awaken Men "from their profound Slumber, in which they had "been ſo long lulled: Upon the whole, it is agreed, "that *Luther* might have been more reſerved in his "Writings."

The

The next great Event that happened this Year, that made great Alterations in the Affairs of *Europe*, was the Death of Pope *Adrian* the VIth, *September* the 14th, in about six Weeks after his signing of the League we before mentioned, which greatly hurt the Confederates, they losing his Authority, as well as the Money he had agreed to contribute. *The Death of Pope* Adrian.

Rapin says, "He was a good Man, and of a Character very different from that of his Predecessors. "Instead of thinking of enlarging the *Ecclesiastical* "*State* by unjust Confiscations, he had given the "Duke of *Urbino* the Investiture of his Dutchy; he "had done the same by the Duke of *Ferrara*. He "would have even restored *Modena* and *Reggio*, if "he had not been prevented by the Clamours of his "Council." These Steps occasioned this Saying, *That* Adrian *was indeed an honest Man and a good* Christian, *but an indifferent Pope.* *

He was partially fond of the Emperor *Charles* the Vth, and had little Satisfaction in his tripple Crown; for his Discontent gave Occasion to such a Behaviour as made him pass for a Hater of Mankind; and the

* Pope *Adrian*'s permitting a Sacrifice to be offered to the *Heathen Gods* is looked upon by all Parties as Fiction; tho' *John Lætus*, Professor at *Franker*, in his *Abridgment of History*, printed at *Amsterdam* in 1661, gives us the following Account thereof: 'Adrian, in order to avert the Plague, 'which then raged violently in 'the City, allowed *Demetrius*, 'a *Greek* Magician, to sacrifice 'a wild Bull to the *Heathen* 'Deities, to appease their Wrath, 'and accordingly the Plague 'ceased;' and cites *Paul Jovius* for his Authority: But, we believe, he had not read that Historian, who only says, 'That the Pope 'did not severely forbid the Communication with the infected 'Houses, and that this Neglect, 'so very different from the 'Custom of *Italy*, occasioned 'the Death of many People:' And does not say, *He gave Leave to the Magician to make this Sacrifice*; but, *that no body durst oppose the Populace, who favoured this* Demetrius. Nor does he assert, *That this Man pretended to sacrifice the Bull to the* Heathen *Gods*: And, though he acknowledges *the Plague decreased*, he does not make this a Consequence of the other.

Italians have publiſhed heinous Calumnies againſt him; and even they, who acknowledged his Probity and Zeal, fail not to ſay, *He was not fit to be Pope*; nor has his Sobriety eſcaped Raileries.

We cannot tell whether they were *Catholicks* or *Proteſtants*, who gave out firſt, that he permitted Sacrifices to be made to the *Heathen Gods*, in order to ſtop the Peſtilence: Nor has *Guicciardin* ſpared him any more than others; for he declares, "That they, "who elected this *Barbarian* to the Popedom, were "rather led by a blind Fury, than by Choice and De"liberation; and that, being unable to aſſign any "Reaſon for their extravagant Conduct, they excuſed "themſelves by imputing it to the *Holy Ghoſt*, who "was uſed, as they ſaid, to inſpire the Cardinals dur"ing the Election of the Popes."

Adrian's Body was depoſited in the *Vatican* Church betwixt thoſe of *Pius* the IId and *Pius* the IIId, and removed afterwards to *St. Mary del' Anima*. *William Euckevort*, the only Cardinal he had made, took all the Care of it that was neceſſary, and erected a ſtately Monument to him.

"Let it not be forgotten, ſays *Bayle*, that this Pope "was an Author. It is ſomewhat ſtrange, that a "Man who owed his Advancement to his Learning, "ſo little countenanced Men of Letters. The Col"lection of the Letters of Princes contain ſome Par"ticulars of this Pope's Humour."

His Life has been amply written by *Gerard Moringus*, a Divine of *Louvain*; and it is ſaid, the Pope ordered this Inſcription to be put on his Tomb.

ADRIANUS *Sextus hic ſitus eſt, qui nihil ſibi infelicius, quam quod imperavit, duxit.*

Here lies Adrian *the* VIth, *who counted it his greateſt Unhappineſs, that he had ever been Pope.*

All

All the Learned of his Time promiſed themſelves Advancement on his coming to the Pontificate, becauſe he owed all his Fortune and Exaltation to Learning; and therefore they could not but be aſtoniſhed, to ſee him ſo ill diſpoſed towards all who delighted in polite Literature, calling them *Terentianos*, and treating them in ſuch a manner, that it was thought he would have brought in Barbariſm again, had he not died in the ſecond Year of his ſupreme Dignity.

It was facetiouſly ſaid of him, *That he thus ill treated the Wits of his Age with the ſame Senſe and Judgment, as he preferred the* Dutch *Stock-fiſh before all other Diſhes, and the beſt Fiſh in* Italy.

When he was only Profeſſor at *Louvain*, he maintained, "That Plurality was vitious, and that a Man, "who had once gotten a Living, that was ſufficient to "maintain him handſomely, ought to be content with "it, and ſtop there." But when he was at the Arch-duke of *Auſtria*'s Court, contrary to his former Doctrine, he accepted of many Preferments: Tho' ſome having taken the Liberty to aſk him, "Why he, who now "had the Power of removing that Abuſe, which he "before could only condemn, did himſelf lay hold on "all the vacant Benefices, eſpecially in the *Low Coun-*"*tries?*" he anſwered, "When I was a Child, I "ſpake as a Child, I thought as a Child, and acted "as a Child; but, when I became a Man, I put a-"way childiſh Things."

The Pope's Death fell out luckily for Cardinal *Julio de Medicis*; for he had retired to *Florence* on the Death of *Leo* the Xth, but was recalled the Beginning of this Year by *Adrian*. In a ſhort Time he gained the Good-will of his Holineſs, and even ſupplanted Cardinal *Volterra*, the Prime Miniſter, and cauſed him to be committed to the Caſtle of *St. Angelo*. By this Situation Cardinal *de Medicis* was in a better Condition to make Intereſt to ſucceed his Maſter.

As

As ſoon as Cardinal *Wolſey* had received the News of the Pope's Death, he writ the following Letter to the King:

" Sir, it may like your Highneſs to underſtand I " have this Hour received Letters from your Orator, " reſident in the Court of *Rome*, mentioning how, " the 13th Day of this Inſtant, it pleaſed Almighty " God to call the Pope's Holineſs to his Mercy, whoſe " Soul our Lord pardon; and in what Train the " Matters there were at that Time, for Election of the " future Pope, your Highneſs ſhall perceive by the " Letters of your ſaid Orator, which I ſend at this " Time, whereby appeareth, that mine Abſence from " thence ſhall be the only Obſtacle (if any be) in Ele- " ction of me to that Dignity. Albeit, there is no " Semblance, that the College of Cardinals ſhall con- " ſent upon my being there preſent, becauſe of the " Factions that be amongſt themſelves; for which " Cauſe, though afore God I repute myſelf right un- " mete and unliable to ſo high and great Dignity, " deſiring much rather to devote, continue, and end " my Life with your Grace, for doing ſo ſuch poor " Service as may be to your Honour, and Wealth of " this your Realm, than to be Pope; yet neverthe- " leſs, remembring what Mind and Opinion your " Grace was of at the laſt Vacation, to have me pre- " ferred thereunto, thinking it ſhould be to the Ho- " nour, Benefit, and Advancement of your Affairs in " Time coming, and ſuppoſing verily, that your High- " neſs perſiſteth in the ſame Mind and Intent, I ſhall " deviſe ſuch Inſtructions, and Commiſſions, and other " Writings, as the laſt Time was delivered to Mr. " *Pace* for that Purpoſe; and the ſame I ſhall ſend " to your Grace by the next Poſt, whom it may like " to do further therein as ſhall ſtand with your graci- " ous Pleaſure, whereunto I ſhall always conform " myſelf accordingly. And to the Intent it may ap- " pear further to your Grace, what Mind and Deter-

" mination

" mination they be of towards mine Advancement,
" which, as your Orators write, have now at this pre-
" ſent Time the principal Authority, and chief Stroke
" in the Election of the Pope, making in manner *Tri-*
" *umviratum*, I ſend unto your Highneſs their ſeveral
" Letters to me addreſſed in that Behalf, beſeeching
" our Lord, that ſuch one may be choſen as may be
" to the Honour of God, the Weal of Chriſt's Church,
" and the Benefit of all Chriſtendom; and thus Jeſus
" preſerve your moſt Noble and Royal Eſtate.

" At the *More*, the laſt Day of *September*, by your

" *Moſt humble Chaplain*,

" T. CARDINALIS EBOR."

After *Wolſey* had writ to his Majeſty, who returned him a gracious Anſwer, and therein greatly encouraged him in his Suit, he then cauſed to be wrote a long Letter and Inſtructions to the King's Miniſters at *Rome*, wherein he fully directed them how to demean themſelves on this Occaſion; which being curious, we thought proper to inſert it * below. The Cardinal at the

* *Cardinal* WOLSEY's *Letter to* Rome, *for procuring to himſelf the Papacy on Pope* Adrian's *Death.*

' My Lord of *Bath*, Mr. *Secretary*, and Mr. *Hannibal*, I ' commend me unto you in my ' right hearty Manner; letting you ' wit, that by Letters lately ſent ' unto me, from you by Lord ' *Bath* and Mr. *Hanibal*, dated ' at *Rome* the 14th Day of *Sept.* ' which Letters I incontinently ' ſhewed unto the King's Grace's ' Highneſs. And I have been ' advertiſed to our great Diſcom- ' fort, that, the ſaid 14th Day, it ' pleaſed Almighty God to call ' the Pope's Holineſs unto his ' infinite Mercy, whoſe Soul ' Jeſu pardon. News certainly ' unto the King's Grace and to ' me right heavy, and for the ' univerſal Weal or Quiet of ' *Chriſtendom*, whereunto his ' Holineſs, like a devout and ' virtuous Father of Holy Church, ' was very ſtudious, much diſ- ' pleaſant and contrarious: Ne- ' verthelefs, conforming ourſelves ' to the Pleaſure of Almighty ' God, to whoſe Calling we all ' muſt be obedient, the Mind ' and Intention of the King's ' Highneſs and of me both is, ' to put ſome Helps and Fur- ' therances, as much as conve- ' niently may be, that ſuch a

' Succeſſor

the ſame time wrote a Letter to Dr. *Clark*, Biſhop of *Bath*, with his own Hand, in the following Words: "*My*

" Succeſſor unto him may now, " by the Holy College of Cardi- " nals, be named and elected, as " may, with God's Grace, per- " form, atchieve and fulfil the " good and vertuous Purpoſes " and Intents concerning the Pa- " cification of *Chriſtendom*, where- " unto our ſaid late Holy Father, " as much as the Brevity of the " Time did ſuffer, was, as it " ſhould ſeem, minded and in- " clined; which Thing, how ne- " ceſſary it is to the State of " *Chriſt*'s Religion, how daily " more and more declining, it is " facile and eaſy to be conſidered: " And ſurely, amongſt other " *Chriſtian* Princes, there is none, " which, as you have perfectly " heretofore underſtood, that to " this Purpoſe more dedicated " themſelves to give Furtherance, " Advice, and Counſel, than the " Emperor and the King's Grace, " who, as well before the Time " of the laſt Vacation, as ſithence, " by Mouth and by Letters, with " Report of Ambaſſadors and " otherwiſe, had many and ſundry " Conferences, Communications " and Devices in that Behalf. In " which it hath pleaſed them, " far above my Merits or Deſerts, " of their Goodneſs, to think, " judge and eſteem me to be " meet and able for to aſpire un- " to that Dignity, perſuading, " exhorting and deſiring me, that, " whenſoever Opportunity ſhould " be given, I ſhould hearken to " their Advice, Counſel and Opi- " nion in that Behalf, and offer- " ing unto me to interpone their " Authorities, Helps and Fur- " therances therein to the utter- " moſt. In Comprobation, al- " beit the Emperor, now being " far diſtant from theſe Parts, " could not, nor might in ſo " brief Time give unto the King's " Grace, new or freſh Confirma- " tion of his Purpoſe, Deſire and " Intent herein: Yet neverthe- " leſs, my Lady *Margaret*, know- " ing the Inclination of his Mind " in this ſame, hath, by a long " Diſcourſe, made unto me ſem- " blable Exhortation, offering, as " well on the Emperor's Behalf " as on her own, that as much " ſhall by them be done, to the " Furtherance thereof, as may be " poſſible. Beſides this, both by " your Letters, and alſo by par- " ticular moſt loving Letters of " the Cardinals *de Medicis*, *Sanc- " torum*, *Quatuor*, and *Campeius*, " with Credence ſhewed unto me " on their Behalf, by their Folks " here reſident, I perceive their " good and faſt Minds, which " they, and divers others their " Friends, owe unto me on that " Matter. And, finally, the " King's Highneſs doth not ceaſe, " by all the gracious and com- " fortable Means poſſible, to in- " ſiſt, that I, for manifold, not- " able, urgent and great Reſpects, " in any wiſe ſhall conſent, that " his Grace the Emperor do ſet " forth the Thing with their beſt " Manner. The Circumſtances " of whoſe moſt entire and moſt " firm Mind thereunto, with their boun-

" *My Lord of* Bath,

" The King hath willed me to write unto you, " that his Grace hath a marvellous Opinion of you, " and,

' bounteous, godly, and benefi-
' cial Offers for the Weal of
' *Chriſtendom*, which his Grace
' maketh to me herein, are too
' long to rehearſe. For which
' Cauſes, albeit I know myſelf
' far unmeet and unable to ſo
' high a Dignity, minding ra-
' ther to live and die with his
' Grace in this his Realm, do-
' ing Honour, Service, Good, or
' Pleaſure to the ſame, than, now
' my old Days are approaching,
' to enter into new Things: Yet
' nevertheleſs, for the great Zeal
' and perfect Mind which I have
' to the Exaltation of the *Chri-*
' *ſtian* Faith, the Honour, Weal,
' and Surety of the King's Grace,
' and the Emperor, and to do
' my Duty both to Almighty
' God and the World, I refer-
' ring every Thing both to God's
' Diſpoſition and Pleaſure, ſhall
' not pretermit to declare unto
' you ſuch Things, as the King's
' Highneſs hath eſpecially willed
' me to ſignify unto you on his
' Grace's Behalf, who moſt ef-
' fectually willeth and deſireth
' you to ſet forth the ſame,
' omitting nothing that may be
' to the Furtherance thereof, as
' his ſpecial Truſt is in you.

' Firſt, ye ſhall underſtand,
' that the Mind and entire De-
' ſire of his Highneſs, above all
' earthly Things, is, that I ſhould
' attain to the ſaid Dignity, hav-
' ing his perfect and firm Hope,
' that of the ſame ſhall enſue in
' brief Time a general and uni-
' verſal Repoſe, Tranquillity, and
' Quietneſs in *Chriſtendom*; and
' as great Renown, Honour,
' Profit, and Reputation to this
' Realm, as ever was; beſides
' the ſingular Comfort, and Re-
' joice that the King's Grace,
' with all his Friends and Sub-
' jects, ſhould take thereof, who
' might be well aſſured thereby to
' compone and order their great
' Cauſes and Affairs to their
' high Benefit, Commodity, and
' moſt Advantage. For this and
' other great and urgent Cauſes,
' the Pleaſure of his Highneſs is,
' that, like as ye, my Lord of
' *Bath* and Mr. *Hannibal*, have
' right prudently and direct-
' ly begun, ſo ye all, or as ma-
' ny of you as be preſent in
' the Court of *Rome*, continue
' your Practices, Overtures, Mo-
' tions, and Labours, to bring
' and conduce this the King's De-
' ſire to perfect End and Effect.

' And becauſe it is not to be
' doubted, but that, before the
' Receipt of theſe my Letters,
' ye having former Inſtructions,
' ye ſhall have far entered your
' Devices in this Matter, where-
' in the King's Grace truſteth
' ye do loſe no Time, or Oppor-
' tunity, that poſſibly may be
' had; I ſhall therefore briefly
' and compendiouſly touch ſuch
' Things, as the King's High-
' neſs would ye ſhould ſubſtan-
' tially note in this Behalf.

' One

" and, you knowing his Mind as you do, his Highneſs doubteth not, but that this Matter ſhall be, " by your Policy, ſet forth in ſuch wiſe, as that the " ſame may come to the deſired Effect, not ſparing " any

" One is, that albeit ye both, " before and alſo now, know the " King's Mind and Deſire herein, as is aforeſaid, taking that " for your Foundation; yet nevertheleſs, foraſmuch as it appeareth, by your ſaid Letters " and otherwiſe, that the Cardinal *de Medicis* (whoſe Preferment, if this may not be had, " both the King's Grace and I tender above all other) mindeth to experiment what may " be done for himſelf, great Policy and Dexterity is in your " Labours and Communications " to be uſed; ſo that ye may firſt, " by great Enſearch and Enquiry, " perfectly underſtand, as nigh as " may be, the Diſpoſition, Mind, " Affection and Inclination, as " well of the ſaid Cardinal *de Medicis*, as of all the reſidue, if it " be poſſible; which Thing well " known, well pondered, and " conſidered, ye ſhall thereby " have a great Light to the reſidue of your Buſineſs, wherein " always ye muſt ſo order yourſelves, that the Matter appearing unto you much doubtful " and uncertain, your particular Practices, the deſired Intent peradventure failing, ſhall " not be Cauſe of Diſpleaſure, " or Unkindneſs, to be noted " by any that may be elected.

" And for your Introduction " herein the King's Grace ſendeth unto you at this Time two " Commiſſions under his Great " Seal, the one couched under general Words, without making " mention of any particular Perſon; and in the other his " Highneſs has made mention of " me by ſpecial Name. Beſides " them, ye ſhall receive herewith " two Letters from his Grace to " the College of Cardinals, with " the Copies of the ſame, the " one in ſpecial Recommendation " of me, and the other in Favour of the Cardinal *de Medicis*; beſide ſuch other particular Letters in my Recommendation to certain Cardinals, " and others, as by the Copies of " them herewith incloſed ye ſhall " now perceive. After the Receipt thereof, if the Cardinals " before that Time ſhall not be " entered into the Conclave, ye " taking your Commodity, as by " your Wiſdom ſhall be thought " moſt expedient, ſhall deliver " unto the Cardinal *de Medicis* " the King's Letters, and mine " to him addreſſed, ſhewing unto him, with as good Words " and Manner as ye can, that, " for his great Virtue, Wiſdom, " Experience, and other commendable Merits, with the " entire Love and Favour which " the King's Grace and I bear " unto him, thinking and reputing him moſt meet and " able to aſpire unto the Papal " Dignity before all other, ye have " Commandment and Commiſſion eſpecially and moſt tenderly to recommend him to the " whole College of Cardinals, " hav-

" any reaſonable Offers, which is a Thing that, a-
" mongſt ſo many needy Perſons, is more regarded,
" than perhaps the Qualities of the Perſon. Ye be
" wiſe, and ye wot what I mean; truſt yourſelf beſt,
" and

' having alſo the King's and my
' Letters to them in his Favour.
' Upon which Declaration ye
' ſhall perceive his Anſwer to
' be made unto you in that
' Behalf; whereupon, and by
' Knowledge of the Diſpoſition
' of the reſidue, ye may per-
' ceive how to govern your-
' ſelves in the Delivery of the
' reſt of the ſaid Letters; for,
' in Caſe it may evidently ap-
' pear unto you, that any of the
' Cardinals, to whom the King's
' Letters be directed, have firmly
' eſtabliſhed their Minds upon
' the Cardinal *de Medicis*, the
' more Circumſpection is to be
' uſed with any ſuch one, on
' the Delivery to him of the
' King's Letters, and Overture
' of the Secrets of your Minds
' touching me, conſidering that,
' if the King's Intent might in
' no wiſe take effect for me,
' his Grace would, before all
' other, advance and further the
' ſaid Cardinal *de Medicis*. Ne-
' verthelefs, if either by his
' Anſwer to be made unto you,
' or by other good Knowledge,
' ye ſhall perceive, that he hath
' ſo many Enemies herein, that
' of Likelihood he cannot at-
' tain the ſame, ye may be the
' more bold to feel his Mind,
' how he is inclined towards me;
' ſaying, as indeed the King's
' Grace hath written unto him,
' that, in caſe he ſhould fail
' thereof, the King's Highneſs
' would inſiſt, as much as to his
' Grace were poſſible, for me,
' which ye may ſay were in
' Manner one Thing, conſider-
' ing that both the Cardinal *de*
' *Medicis* and I bear one Mind,
' Zeal, and Study, to the Weal,
' and Quiet of *Chriſtendom*, the
' Increaſe and Surety of *Italy*,
' the Benefit and Advancement
' of the Emperor's and the King's
' Majeſty's Cauſes; and, I being
' Pope, he in a Manner, whom
' I above all Men love, truſt,
' and eſteem, were Pope, being
' ſure to have every Thing ac-
' cording to his Mind and De-
' ſire, and as much Honour to
' be put unto him, his Friends,
' and Family, as might be de-
' viſed in ſuch wiſe: That by
' theſe and other good Words
' and Demonſtrations, it may
' make him ſure, as I think
' he be, that, failing for him-
' ſelf, he with all his Friends do
' their beſt for me; and, ſeeing
' no Likelihood for him, ye may
' then right well proceed to your
' particular Labour and Practices
' for me, delivering the King's
' Letters both to the College of
' Cardinals, and to the other
' apart, as ye ſhall ſee the Caſe
' then to require, and ſolliciting
' them by ſecret Labours, al-
' ledging and declaring to them
' my poor Qualities, and how
' I, having ſo great Experience
' of the Cauſes of *Chriſtendom*,
' with the entire Favour which

" and be not ſeduced by fair Words, and ſpecially of " thoſe which (ſay what they will) deſire more their " own Preferment than mine. Howbeit, great Dex- " terity is to be uſed, and the King thinketh that all " the

" the Emperor and the King's " Grace bear unto me; the Know- " ledge alſo and deep Acquain- " tance of other Princes, and of " their great Affairs; the ſtudious " Mind that I have ever been in " both to the Surety and Weal " of *Italy*, and alſo to the Quiet " and Tranquillity of *Chriſten-* " *dom*, not lacking, thanked be " God, either Subſtance or Li- " berality to look largely upon " my Friends; beſides the ſun- " dry great Promotions, which " by Election of me ſhall be va- " cant, to be diſpoſed unto ſuch " of the ſaid Cardinals, as by " their true and faſt Friendſhip " had deſerved the ſame; the " loving Familiarity alſo which " they ſhould find in me, and " that of my Nature I am not " ingrate, diſpoſed to Rigour, or " Auſtereneſs; but can be con- " tented, thanked be God, frank- " ly, pleaſantly, and courteouſly " to participate, diſpoſe, and " beſtow ſuch Things as I have, " or ſhall come to my Diſpoſi- " tion, not having any ſuch " Faction, Family, or Kinſman, " to whom I might ſhew any " Partiality, in beſtowing the " Promotions and Goods of the " Church; and, which is higheſt " to be regarded, that is likely " and in Manner ſure, that, by " my Means, not only *Italy* ſhall " be put into perfect Surety for " ever; but alſo a final Reſt, " Peace, and Tranquillity, now " moſt neceſſary to be eſtabliſhed " betwixt all *Chriſtian* Princes: " Whereupon the greateſt and " moſt Noble Expedition might " be made againſt the *Infidels*, " that hath been heard of many " Years. For the King's High- " neſs in that Caſe would be con- " tented, and hath fully promi- " ſed, God willing, to come in " Perſon, when God ſhall ſend " Time, unto *Rome*, whither alſo " I ſhould not doubt to bring " many more of the *Chriſtian* " Princes, being determined, if " God ſhould ſend me ſuch Grace, " to expoſe my own Perſon in " God's Quarrel; by Means of " which my Preſence many Things " ſhould be ſtated, that, for " Superiority and otherwiſe, in " Times paſt, have been Occaſion " of Diſagreement amongſt Prin- " ces. Albeit, peradventure the " greateſt Reſpect ſhall not now " be had hereunto, nor this the " beſt Elective to win the Cardi- " dinals Favour, wherein you " muſt therefore rule yourſelves " by your Wiſdoms, as you ſhall " ſee the Time, Seaſon, and " Care require; aſſuring them, " for the removing of the Doubt " in changing of the See, or not " ſpeedy repair thither, that, af- " ter the Election once paſſed and " notified to me, I would not fail, " by God's Grace, within three " Months to be in *Rome*; there " and in the Parts thereabout to " remain during my Life, where- " of

" the *Imperials* ſhall be clearly with you, if Faith be " in the Emperor.† The young Men, for the moſt " part being needy, will give good Ears to fair Of- " fers, which ſhall be undoubtedly performed. The " King

" of ye may make faithful Aſ- " ſurance. By theſe, and other " good Means, and Promiſes, on " the King's Behalf, of large Re- " wards, which his Highneſs re- " ferreth to your Diſcretion, and " is contented to perform that " which ye do therein, it is not " to be doubted but that you " ſhall obtain the Favours of " many of them: So as, if Reſpect " may be had to the See Apoſto- " lick, and the Surety of *Italy*, " the Tranquillity of *Chriſtendom*, " the Defence of the ſame againſt " the Infidels, the Exaltation of " the Faith, the Perſecution of " Chriſt's Enemies, the Increaſe " and Weal of the College of " Cardinals with their Advance- " ments and Promotion, gentle, " frank, and liberal Entertain- " ment of them, and generall- " ly to the Benefit of all Holy " Church, the King's Grace " ſuppoſeth his Mind and De- " ſire herein, with all your good " Means, Diligence, and Solli- " citations, is not unlike to take " good Effect: Wherein, for the " more Authority and better con- " ducting of your Purpoſe, the " Pleaſure of his Grace is, that " you join with the Emperor's " Ambaſſadors, as far as you can " ſee and perceive them to fa- " vour this the King's Intent, " likeas his Grace thinketh, that, " according to the often Confe- " rences, Communications, Pro- " miſes, and Exhortations made " by the Emperor to me in this " Behalf, and according to my " ſaid Lady *Margaret*'s Deſire " to offer, they have Command- " ment to do. In the politick " Handling of all which Mat- " ters, the King's Highneſs put- " teth in you his ſpecial Truſt " and Confidence, ſo to order " yourſelves in the Premiſes, as " you ſhall perceive to accord " with the inward Deſire of his " Grace, and the State and Diſ- " poſition of the Thing there; for " which Purpoſe his Grace hath fur- " niſhed you at this Time, jointly " or ſeverally, with two ſundry " Commiſſions, the one general " for me and in my Favour, by " the which you have ample " Authority to bind and promiſe, " on the King's Behalf, as well " Gift of Promotions, as alſo as " large Sums of Money to as " many and ſuch as you ſhall " think convenient; and as ſure " ye may be, whatſoever ye ſhall " promiſe, bind his Grace, and " do in that Behalf, his Highneſs " will inviolably obſerve, keep, " and perform; the other ſpecial " as afore Letters to the College " of two Effects, the one for the " Cardinal *de Medicis*, and the " other for me, with other par- " ticu-

† The Sequel ſhewed, that there was no Faith in the Emperor in reſpect to this Matter.

" King willeth you neither to ſpare his Authority, or " his good Money or Subſtance. You may be aſ- " ſured whatever you promiſe ſhall be performed; " and the Lord ſend you good Speed.

" *Your loving Friend,*

" T. CARDINALIS EBORAC."

The

' ticular Letters in my Favour; ' all which his Pleaſure in that ' you ſhall uſe in Manner and ' Form aforeſaid, *viz.* that is ' to ſay, if you ſhall perceive ' the Affair of the Cardinal *de* ' *Medicis* to be in ſuch perfect ' Frame, that he is like to have ' the ſame Dignity, ye then ' proceed to that which may be ' his Furtherance, uſing never- ' theleſs your particular Labour ' for me, if you think it may ' do good, after ſuch Sort as ye ' ſhall not conceive any Ingra- ' titude or Unkindneſs therein. ' And if ye may ſee, that the ' ſaid Cardinal *de Medicis* be not ' in ſuch great Likelihood thereof, ' then conſidering, that the King's ' Grace and I think verily he ' will do his beſt for me, ye ' ſhall effectually ſet forth your ' Practices for attaining and win- ' ning as many Friends for me as ' poſſible may be, delivering your ' Letters for that Intent, as ye ' ſhall ſee Cauſe; wherein you ' being now furniſhed for both ' Purpoſes; and alſo having one ' of the Commiſſions general ' and indifferent, without any ' Perſon therein ſpecially recom- ' mended, Things to be done ' or omitted as you ſhall know ' to ſtand with the State or Com- ' modity of the Affairs there, ' with the Ground of the King's ' Mind to you now declared, ' which ſhall be your beſt and ' perfect Inſtruction, as you ſhall ' do or know herein, ſo the ' King's Grace deſireth you often ' and ſpeedily to adverſe me by ' your Letters, having no Doubt, ' but that his Highneſs will ſee ' your Travels, Diligence, and ' Pains in this Behalf, ſo to be ' conſidered, as you ſhall have ' Cauſe to think the ſame well ' employed and beſtowed.

And, my Lord of *Bath*, as ' you do know well, becauſe ' Mr. *Pace*, at the Time of the ' laſt Vacation, was ſent pur- ' poſely from hence with Com- ' miſſion and Inſtruction for that ' Matter, the King and I ſup- ' poſing that, upon Knowledge ' of this News, he being at *Mi-* ' *lan*, would incontinently repair ' to *Rome*, hath therefore made ' the foreſaid Commiſſions, and ' alſo this Letter to be directed ' unto you jointly and ſeverally, ' willing you in ſuch ſubſtantial ' and diſcreet wiſe, to proceed ' in that Manner, not forbear- ' ing any Thing that may be to ' the Furtherance thereof, as his ' Grace and my ſpecial Truſt is ' in you. And thus moſt heartily ' fare you well.

' At my Manor of *Hampton-court*, ' the 4th of *Oct.*'

The next Day he wrote to the King again, praying him to recommend him to the Emperor, by a Letter under his own Hand, flattering himſelf, that the Emperor would now keep his Word with him, ſince he had no *Preceptor* to be elected.

But all *Wolſey*'s Schemes, upon this ſecond Attempt for the Pontificate, proved alſo ineffectual, which was chiefly owing to his Abſence,* though ſeveral of the Cardinals were much inclined to ſerve him, which they would have infallibly have done, had not *Wolſey* too much relied on the Emperor, who, it is agreed by all Hands, deceived him: For the Truth is, notwithſtanding all the Emperor's Pretences, he could not bear the Thought of having an *Engliſhman* made Pope, and eſpecially one of *Wolſey*'s Diſpoſition, who, he knew, loved his Country ſo well, that, in Caſe he had ſucceeded, he would have the Intereſt of it chiefly at Heart, and conſequently give her greater Influence in reſpect to the conducting of the Affairs of *Europe*, than would ſuit the Deſigns the Emperor then had formed; and the Sequel ſoon diſcovered what his Views were; ſo that the *Italian* Hiſtorians are very right when they tell us, *the Emperor little thought of performing his Promiſe of procuring* Wolſey *the Papacy*.

At firſt there were 39 Cardinals in the Conclave, 15 or 16 of which were at *Julio de Medicis*'s Devotion; beſides, he had three others who promiſed not to be againſt him, in Caſe he was likely to ſucceed; ſo that he had only ſeven or eight to gain over to have two Thirds of the Voices: But this was not eaſy to

* 'Tis Matter of Surprize, that *Wolſey* ſhould, with all his Penetration, neglect being preſent on this favourite Occaſion, having before miſcarried partly for the like Omiſſion: Though we ſhould have taken it for an Inſtance of his *Magnanimity*, had not his Letters been ſo replete with *Promiſes* of *Money* and *Promotions*, which, to be ſure, cannot be the Produce of a truly noble Soul. But in this the Cardinal is not alone by Thouſands upon Thouſands, ſo predominant is this worſt of Vices, *Corruption*.

to be done; and the ſtruggle ſoon fell between the Cardinals *Colonna* and *Medicis*.

The *Engliſh* Miniſters, finding how the Game went, and that, as they thought, Cardinal *Wolſey* had no Share in the Election, they cut their Inſtructions ſhort, and openly acted in the Behalf of Cardinal *Medicis*, which was highly pleaſing to him; but yet it was ſaid, *Colonna* would have infallibly carried it, if the Cardinals of his Faction could have as readily united in chuſing a Pope, as in preventing the Election of *Julio*.

This hot Conteſt made the Conclave hold 50 Days, yet *Wolſey*'s Party were not able to gain any Advantage from it, becauſe the *French* were alſo againſt him, and the Emperor's Adherents to a Man ſupported *Julio*'s Intereſt.

However, the Faction, of which *Colonna* was Head, not agreeing in the Choice of a Pope, *Wolſey*'s Party again conceived Hopes, that he would carry the Election; and as *Colonna* and *Medicis* ſo ſtrenuouſly oppoſed each other, many of the Cardinals, who before had deſerted *Wolſey*, gave out, that they would elect him: But *Colonna*, alarmed at this ſudden Reſolution, was immediately reconciled to *Medicis*: And one of the *Italian* Writers ſays, "*Julio* "gave him a Promiſe under his Hand, to create him "his *Vice-chancellor*, and to make him a preſent of "his Palace, which was one of the moſt magnifi-"cent in *Rome*." Be that as it will, *Colonna* gave him ſeven or eight Votes, which were at his Diſpoſal.

This being known, and a Report being ſpread in the Conclave, that *Julio* would be elected the next Scrutiny, thoſe, who before oppoſed him, were now foremoſt in making their Court: So that, that very Night, between the 18th and 19th of *November*, all the Cardinals went and paid Obeiſance to the new Pope, and the next Morning his Election was confirmed

firmed by a ſolemn Scrutiny, wherein he had all the Voices.

It may not be amiſs to take notice, that this Pope was a Baſtard, being the natural Son of *Julian de Medici*, Uncle to *Leo* the Xth; but this Defect of Birth, though contrary to the Canons, was not conſidered: *Leo* the Xth, who made him Cardinal, having taken care to have it legally atteſted, that *Julian* promiſed his Mother Marriage, which was allowed to be good. And *Alexander* the VIth took the ſame Courſe, for, when he made his baſtard Son, *Ceſar Borgia*, a Cardinal, he procured Witneſſes, who depoſed *Ceſar* was born of a married Woman, whence he inferred, that the Child was the Huſband's Son. But, how far theſe Practices were conſiſtent with the Laws, human or divine, we ſhall leave to the Civilians Eccleſiaſtick to determine.

Clement *the* VIIth *Pope.*

The new Pope aſſumed the Name of *Clement* the VIIth, on Account of *St. Clement*'s Day. And, as the Cardinal has been charged with *Prevarication* and *Inſincerity* in reſpect to his Declarations on this Election, the following Letter to the King, as we conceive, will in part clear him.

" *Sire*,

" AFTER my moſt humble and lowly Recommendation, this ſhall only be to adverti ſe your Highneſs, that, after great and ſtrong Altercation and Contrariety, which have depended between the Cardinals in the Conclave, they at laſt reſolved fully and determined (the Faction of *France* abandoned) to elect and chuſe either my Lord Cardinal *de Medicis*, or me, which Deliberation coming to the Knowledge of the Nobles and Citizens of *Rome*, they alledging, that the Affairs of *Italy* being in Train as they then were, it ſhould be to the extreme Danger thereof to chuſe a Perſon *abſent*; made ſundry great Acclamations at the

" Conclave-window; whereby the Cardinals being in " fear, not only of the Inconvenience like to enſue " unto *Italy*, but alſo of their own Perſons, albeit " they were in manner principally bent upon me; " yet, for *eſchewing the ſaid Danger and Murmur, by* " *Inſpiration of the Holy Ghoſt*, without further Diffi- " culty of Buſineſs, the 19th Day of the laſt Month, " elected and choſe the ſaid Cardinal *de Medicis*, who " immediately was publiſhed Pope, and hath taken " the Name of *Clement* the VIIth, of which good " and fortunate News, ſuch your Highneſs hath " much Cauſe to thank Almighty God for, foraſmuch " as he is not only a perfect Friend, and faithful " to the ſame; but that alſo, much the rather by " your Means, he hath attained to this: And, for " my Part, as I take God to record, I am more " joyous thereof, than if it had fortuned upon my " Perſon, knowing his excellent Qualities moſt mete " for the ſame, and how great and ſure a Friend " your Grace and the Emperor be like to have of " him, and I ſo good a Father; by whoſe Aſſump- " tion unto that Dignity not only your and the ſaid " Emperor's Affairs, but alſo all *Chriſtendom*, ſhall " undoubtedly come to much better and more proſ- " perous Perfection; like as, upon the firſt Knowledge " thereof, the *Frenchmen* be already departed from " *Myllayn*, and paſſed a River towards *France*, called " *Tycino*, truſting that the next News, which ſhall " come from thence, ſhall be of their Arrival at " Home; wherein, as I ſhall have further Knowledge, " ſo I ſhall advertiſe your Highneſs thereof accord- " ingly. And thus *Jeſu* preſerve your moſt Noble " and Royal Eſtate.

" At my poor Houſe beſides *Weſtminſter*, the 7th " Day of *December*,

" *By your moſt humble Chaplain*,

" T. CARDINALIS EBOR."

" We

We cannot help thinking the foregoing a pretty honeſt Letter, and that the Cardinal wrote from his Heart; for as both the King and himſelf paid a great Regard to *Medicis*, as appears by the Letters of Inſtructions, his Election might give him ſome Pleaſure; eſpecially as he ſaw ſuch an Averſeneſs in the Foreigners to an *Engliſhman*'s being at the Head of the Church: And it is not unlikely his Eagerneſs for being *His Holineſs* might be abated, on cool Reflection, that he could not much mend his Station, live in greater Splendor, or be more uſeful to, or courted by all the Princes in *Europe*, tho' he might add to his Title. Yet

" He muſt, ſays *Rapin*, be extremely incenſed with " the Emperor, who had twice deceived him; ſo it " may be aſſured, conſidering his *vindictive Temper*, he " reſolved from that Moment to be *revenged*; but, as " he could not execute this Reſolution without his " Maſter's Aſſiſtance, he was to take care not to " diſcover that he acted from a Motive of Revenge, " otherwiſe he would have run the Hazard of being " diſappointed. He concealed therefore, under the " Maſk of *feigned* Moderation, the Reſentment he " harboured in his Breaſt, and contented himſelf with " telling the King, that ſeveral had voted for him " in the Conclave, but his Abſence had turned to his " Prejudice, and the Situation of the Affairs of *Italy* " had cauſed the Cardinals to chuſe Cardinal *de Me-* " *dicis.*"

But the Author of the *Secret Hiſtory* of King *Henry* the VIIIth on this Occaſion varies greatly from *Rapin* in his Account, and ſays, " *Wolſey*, upon his " applying to the Emperor, received a diſobliging " Anſwer, as not looking upon him as a Perſon " qualified for the Papal Dignity, or at leaſt as one " that would not promote his Intereſt. This Treat- " ment throwed *Wolſey* into a Fury, and then he ſent " the Emperor Word, If he would not endeavour his " Advancement, he would make ſuch a Ruſtling a-

" mong the *Chriſtian* Princes, that there had not been " the like for 100 Years before, though it ſhould " coſt him the whole Kingdom of *England*. The Em- " peror, amazed at this inſolent Letter, anſwered it " in Print, bidding the Cardinal have a Care of " going about what would ruin himſelf and the " Kingdom." Where this Gentleman picked up this Piece of Hiſtory we are at a Loſs to find out, as alſo to reconcile the different Relations, given, by *Rapin* and this Author, of *Wolſey*'s Actions at this Juncture: So that, leaving our Readers to form the beſt Opinion they can of this Affair, from the different Quotations we have before recited, we ſhall here wind up the Year 1523.

Affairs of England. 1524.

CLEMENT the VIIIth being now ſeated in the Papal Chair, Cardinal *Wolſey*, before the Cloſe of the Year, wrote another long Letter * to the Biſhop of *Bath*, Mr. Secretary *Pace*, and Mr. *Hannibal*, which we have here ſub-

* 'My Lord of Bath, Mr. Secretary, and Mr. Hannibal,

' I Recommend me unto you in my right hearty Manner, ſince my Writing unto you I have at ſundry Times received your Letters of the laſt of *Octob.* and 19th of *Nov.* wherein, to the King's and my good and full Contentation, ye have right diligently advertiſed me of ſuch Things coming to your Knowledge, as have ſucceeded in thoſe Parts, as well concerning the Cardinals then being in Conclave as otherwiſe, and how, after long Altercations and ſundry Contrarieties, which ſeemed to be amongſt the Cardinals, at laſt, by the Grace of God and Inſpiration of the *Holy Spirit*, they agreed and condeſcended upon my Lord Cardinal *de Medicis*, whom, on the ſaid 19th Day, they elected and publiſhed Pope, taking on him the Name of *Clement* the VIIth, with other Matters mentioned and comprimiſed in your ſaid Letters more at large; for the which your ſubſtantial good and ſpeedy Advertiſements, by me always ſhewed and declared unto the King's Highneſs, his Grace and I give unto you moſt ſpecial and hearty Thanks; namely, for the deſired News of the ſaid Election, which I aſſure you to be as much to the King's and my Rejoice, Conſolation and Gladneſs as poſſibly

ſubjoined: And it may be obſerved, that the Cardinal muſt have been a Man of unwearied Application, to compile Letters of this Length ſo frequently; tho' to be ſure he wanted not for Secretaries.

Before this Letter reached *Rome*, his Holineſs was pleaſed to write to Cardinal *Wolſey*, dated the 13th of the Kalends of *December*, 1523, notifying his Advancement to the Pontificate, and continuing him *Legate a Latere*. And the Cardinal wrote again to Mr. Secretary *Pace*, touching the ſaid Commiſſion, and future Conduct to *Clement*, *viz.*

" *Mr.*

' poſſibly may be deviſed or ' imagined; for which Cauſe his ' Highneſs and I, in Sign, Token, ' and Comprobation of the ſin- ' gular Comfort which we take ' in the ſame, not abiding or ' tarrying for any Intimation to ' be made thereof, either by the ' Pope's Holineſs now elect, or ' by the College of Cardinals, ' thought convenient and requi- ' ſite with Diligence to ſpeed ' unto you Letters congratula- ' tory, directed unto the Pope's ' Holineſs, whereby the ſame ' may perceive the entire Love ' and moſt cordial Affection that ' his Grace and I continually ' bear unto him; which Letters ' congratulatory being herewith, ' you the Effect ſhall perceive, ' by the Copies of the ſame here ' incloſed the King's Mind and ' Pleaſure is, that ye, taking a ' convenient Time for that Pur- ' poſe, ſhall in due, requiſite, ' and moſt loving Manner pre- ' ſent and deliver unto the Pope's ' Holineſs, that is to ſay,

' Firſt the King's Letters, and ' afterwards mine, making ſuch ' humble, hearty, filial, and obe- ' dient Commendations on the ' Behalf of his Grace and of me ' apart, as to the moſt entire ' Affection and devout Mind ' which he beareth unto his Ho- ' lineſs you do know to be for ' either of us mete, convenient, ' and concordant. After the read- ' ing whereof ye ſhall ſhew and ' declare unto his Holineſs at ' length, what Joy, Comfort, ' and Gladneſs it is both to the ' King's Highneſs and me, to ' perceive and underſtand, that ' once in our Lives it hath pleaſ- ' ed God of his great Goodneſs ' to provide and ſend ſuch a Pa- ' ſtor and Governor unto his ' Church as his Grace, as I ' have long and inwardly deſired; ' who, for his Vertue, Wiſdom, ' and other high and notable ' Qualities, Merits, and Deſerts, ' we have always reputed the ' moſt worthy and able Perſon ' in this World to aſpire and be ' called to that Dignity. And, ' for my part, I have in this Be- ' half attained that Thing which ' I have entirely and cordially ' longed for and deſired, aſſuring ' you, that I cannot, with my ' Tongue or Pen expreſs the in- ' ward Joy which I have taken

' and

" *Mr. Secretary,*

" I commend me unto you, in my right hearty " Manner, by my other Letters to my Lord of *Bath* " and Mr. *Hannibal* at this Time directed. I have " written unto you all at length as well in the King's " Cauſes as my own. This ſhall be only to adver- " tiſe you, that, albeit I am right well aſſured, that " ye have, to the uttermoſt and beſt of your Power, " endeavoured and employed yourſelf to the obtain- " ing of the Bull of Legation, now granted unto me " by

" and do take to ſerve; for, ſure- " ly, beſides the manifold parti- " cular Cauſes moving the King's " Highneſs and me, moſt ſpecially " to deſire the Exaltation, Weal, " and Comfort of ſo faithful and " ſo conſtant a Friend as his Ho- " lineſs hath ever been to us, hav- " ing firm and undoubtful Hope, " that the ſincere Love and con- " ſtant Affection, heretofore ſurely " eſtabliſhed, rooted, and knit, " is, and ſhall be for ever moſt " aſſuredly permanent and indiſ- " ſolute on either Part; his " Grace and I conſidering the " preſent Calamities, Troubles, " Diſſentions, Jars, Variances, " and Diſcords, wherewith *Chri- " ſtendom* is all over vexed, afflict- " ed, and diſquieted, beſides " many other Enormities, Perils, " Dangers, and Miſchiefs, where- " by the State is greatly and pi- " tiouſly compelled to decline; " for the Succour of which In- " firmities none ſo apt and con- " venient a Medicine would have " been exhibited, in this ſtormy " Seaſon, as, by the Proviſion of " God, to have a Pope and Head, " which both may, can, and will " endeavour himſelf to repair " and reſtore the ſame unto the " due Perfection, whoſe Aſſump- " tion is undoubtedly to be reput- " ed a due Gift of God only, " and an Act moſt gracious and " fortunate, and chanced in a " moſt convenable Time and Sea- " ſon; for which the King's " Grace and I have given and do " give unto the Almighty God, " as loving Thanks as may be.

" And ye may aſſure his Ho- " lineſs, that the King's Grace, " like a moſt obedient and loving " Son, and as a moſt pious and " vertuous Prince, will not fail " effectually, firmly, and con- " ſtantly to join and concur " with him in all Things, which " may ſound to his Honour, " Weal, and Surety, the Tran- " quillity, Quiet, and Repoſe of " *Chriſtendom*, offering his Grace's " Authority, Puiſſance, Relief, " and Blood for the Furtherance " thereof to the uttermoſt; like " as I alſo, as a moſt devout and " aſſured Member of his, ſhall " not fail to employ my Wit, " Study, Perſon, Subſtance, and " Life, to do unto his Holineſs all " the Service and Pleaſure to me " poſſible, as by the continual " Expe-

" by the Pope's Holineſs; yet nevertheleſs, to be " plain with you, as one in whom I have my ſingular " Truſt and Confidence, I eſteem ſomewhat more " Strangeneſs to be ſhewed unto me than my Merit " requires, in that there hath been Difficulty made to " amplify my Faculties, *per non familiare*, and ſuch " other Things as be contained in my Inſtructions " given unto my Lord of *Bath*, ſuppoſing verily ye, " having familiar and perfect Acquaintance with the " Pope's Holineſs, may, by your Dexterity and Wiſ-

" dom,

' Experience of the ſame ſhall ' aſſuredly prove from Time to ' Time, whenſoever, and ſo ſoon ' as the Caſe ſhall require. All ' which Matters ye ſhall extend ' with the beſt and moſt hearty ' and loving Words and Demon- ' ſtrations that you can deviſe, ' in ſuch wiſe as his Holineſs ' may thereby perceive the aſ- ' ſured Mind and cordial Affe- ' ction which the King's Grace ' and I do bear unto the ſame.

' Over this ye ſhall ſhew unto ' the Pope's Holineſs, that, albeit ' the King's Highneſs was reſol- ' ved and determined, that his ' Army, being in *France*, hav- ' ing there right good Succeſs, ' with honourable Victory, ſhould ' have remained there all this ' Winter, having made their ' Way and Entry into the ' Bowels of *France* without Re- ' ſiſtance, the Town of *Ancret*, ' near the River *Zone*, taken, be ' Dedition, and the Caſtles and ' Wall thrown down. The ' Town of *Bray*, ſituate upon ' the ſaid River, mightily forti- ' fied, and by the Enemy va- ' liantly defended, by Strength ' gotten and acquired, and the ' ſaid Enemies by their Loſs ' preſtigated. The Town of ' *Mounte Lidder*, ſix Leagues be- ' yond the ſaid River, after Ap- ' proaches, Fire and Battery ' made thereunto, wherein were ' *Poutremy*, and divers Noble- ' men, with 500 Footmen and ' 500 Spears furniſhed by them, ' after a Conflict made, wherein ' were taken Monſ. *Dauniville*, ' and two other great Men of ' Arms, beſides 60 Footmen and ' 60 Men at Arms, and as many ' ſlain by the King's Lieute- ' nant, to the uſe of the King's ' Highneſs, as Parcel of his Inhe- ' ritance of his Realm of *France* ' rendered and delivered. The ' Town of *Roy* and ——, ' with other Towns and Caſtles ' alſo taken. And the ſaid Ar- ' my being upon way of Tra- ' verſe of the Realm of *France*, ' towards the Town called *La- ' rum* in *Lamoges*, where they ' ſhould be in convenient Readi- ' neſs both to proceed ſtrait ' to *Paris*, alſo to join with ' the Duke of *Bourbon*, and ſuch ' as, with 10,000 Lance-knights ' being at the King's Charge, ' he had with him; for which

' Purpoſe

" dom, do ſo much to the Remedying thereof, if as " of yourſelf alone ye do ſometimes repair unto his " Holineſs, putting the ſame by good Means and Intro- " duction into Remembrance of my Merits, and faith- " ful Mind towards him, as well *in minoribus* as now; " ſhewing furthermore how, by Pope *Leo*'s Grant " and Pope *Adrian*'s, who paſſed my Legation with " as large Faculties as now I have *ad quinquennium*, and " ſo from 5 Years to 5 Years during my Life. I " know right well how that, for the Prerogatives the King's

" Purpoſe alſo the Number of " 8000 freſh Soldiers, Horſe- " men and Footmen, were pre- " pared for their Reinforcement, " and paſſed on their Way unto " *Dover*, and other Places on the " Sea-coaſt, ready to take Paſ- " ſage. The King's Army being " alſo ſufficient and amply fur- " niſhed of Money for their Con- " tinuance, and the ſame of " 100,000 Crowns ſent unto *Roy* " *Sampſon*, for the Payment of the " Lance-knights from Month to " Month; ſo as on the King's " Part nothing was loſt or pre- " termited, which ought or con- " veniently might have done for " the Continuance of this Win- " ter-war, whereby the Enemy, " Diſturber of the Quiet in *Chri-* " *ſtendom*, might the rather be " enforced to know and inform " himſelf, or elſe ſuffer ſo large- " ly, that his Timerity ſhould " thereby be mitigated and re- " preſſed: Yet ſuch fervent Colds " reigned at that Time, with o- " ther diverſe incommodate " Weather, that firſt the Lance- " knights, being under the Lead- " ing of the Count *Felix*, and " ready to join with the Duke " of *Bourbon*, partly by Means " thereof, and partly, as is afore- " ſaid, by Corruption abandoned " the Field, and, after a great " Bounty taken, retired into " their Countries, and the Army " thereby at this Time clearly " diſſolved.

" The Duke of *Bourbon* alſo " paſſed towards *Spain* by the " Way of *Italy*, and over that " the Horſes and the Beaſts, which " drew the King's and Emperor's " Artilleries and other Carriages, " died daily and nightly in ſuch " Number, that there remained " not enough in dry Weather to " remove the ſame, and continu- " ing two or three Days longer, " they ſhould have been fain to " leave the ſaid Artillery for lack " of Carriage, which could not " then for a long Seaſon have " been recovered. Men alſo, " paſſing by the Way, as well " *Engliſhmen* as *Burgonions*, pe- " riſhed for Cold in ſo great " Number, that a Pity it was to " ſee. And, finally, there was " Lack and Default in Payment " of the *Burgonions*, that, for " that and other Conſiderations " before ſpecified, the Duke of

" *Suffolk*

" King's Highneſs hath in this Realm, as for other " Cauſes, all the Profits that may ariſe of my Lega- " tion, having alſo all the Amplification of the Fa- " culties aforeſaid, will not be worth 1000 Ducats by " the Year, whatſoever Report may be made to his " Holineſs to the contrary, by ſome that might ſup- " poſe and think, that great Revenues might grow " thereof: And ye might ſay, though ye perceive " that I repute and eſteem the Benevolences much, " and as high as the ſame is worthy to be taken, yet " never-

' *Suffolk* and Count *de Bruer*, ' Leaders of the common Army ' for the King and Emperor, ' could ſee no other Remedy, ' but for a Time to withdraw ' themſelves in ſome ſure Place ' in Towns, for Relief and Suc- ' cour of their Men and Beaſts, ' or elſe utterly to loſe the ſame, ' leave the Artillery, and put ' the common Affair in extream ' Hazard; like as they, by com- ' mon Aſſent, retired unto *Va- ' lentia*, taking alſo in their Way ' certain Caſtles and Places of ' *Boyben* and *Beonerroy*, which ' being delivered by the Duke ' of *Suffolk* to the *Burgonians*, to ' be kept to the King's Uſe, ' were ſince by the ſaid *Burgo- ' nians* abandoned and forſaken: ' And, finding the Time of the ' Year clearly unſeaſonable of ' new to proceed and return un- ' to the Enemy's Country, they ' by mutual Accord agreed to ' diſcharge their ſaid Armies, ' till the beginning of the next ' Spring of the Year, leaving ' every Thing in ſuch State and ' Order, as they may then right ' ſpeedily be ready to proceed ' again unto their Enterpriſes.

' And foraſmuch as the ſaid ' Army being beyond the Sea, ' chanced the Death of the Pope ' *Adrian*, and the Election of ' the Pope's Holineſs being un- ' to that Dignity, by Means ' whereof it is uncertain what ' further Direction ſhall be taken ' for his Holineſs and States of ' *Italy*, for the Year now en- ' ſuing and coming, eſpecial- ' ly the Affairs of the Dutchy ' of *Myllayne* being in better ' Train than they were, it is ' thought, by the King's High- ' neſs and Council, neceſſary and ' requiſite, that ye, ſhewing un- ' to the Pope's Holineſs the ſaid ' Succeſſes, with the firm and ' conſtant Mind which the King's ' Grace is of to perfect their ' other Victories with, in caſe o- ' ther Princes, to whom, as well ' for their particular Cauſes as ' the Tranquillity of all *Chriſten- ' dom*, it appertaineth, will do ' the ſemblable, ſhall define ' his Holineſs to aſſertain his ' Highneſs of his Mind in this ' Behalf, ſhewing unto him not ' only the virtuous Grounds ' why their common Enterpriſes ' be attempted againſt him, who ' by

" nevertheleſs ye have taken me to be one that can " note and conſider the Cauſes of the ſaid Bull, and " what Emolument, Honour, and Benefit ſhall enſue " unto me thereby, more than I had before by the " Grants of other Popes, to whom I was entirely de- " dicated as to his Holineſs; wherefore you may ſay " your Opinion is as of yourſelf, that, in Sign and " Comprobation of a ſpecial Grace and more large " Favour towards me than others generally, he ſhould " amplify the ſaid Bull with the ſaid other Faculties, " or

' by his inordinate Ambition an- ' noys and infects all *Chriſten- ' dom*, and how much the re- ' preſſing of him ſhall ſound to ' the Pleaſure of God, the Weal ' of Chriſt's Church, the Sure- ' ty of the Pope's Holineſs, and ' of all *Italy*, which have been ' the principal Cauſes moving ' the King's Grace, to expreſs ' his Labour, Travel, Pain, Sub- ' jects, and Aſſiſtance with his ' Subſtance, for Reformation ' thereof, but alſo ſuch Things ' as for this preſent Time be ' thought good and profitable, ' to proſecute War againſt the ' common Enemy, which be ' theſe:

' *Firſt*, The honourable Grounds ' moving the Emperor and the ' King now led into their Wars ' of *France*.

' *Secondly*, The firm Conjunc- ' tion which is contracted be- ' tween the Emperor and the ' King.

' *Thirdly*, The baſe Eſtate where- ' unto the *French* King is ' brought, being exhauſt of Mo- ' ney, and his Subjects not able ' to contribute more unto him.

' *Fourthly*, His Horſemen great- ' ly diminiſhed without Likeli- ' hood how he may repair them.

' *Fifthly*, The Revolting from ' him of the Duke of *Bourbon*, ' having 500 Gentlemen in ' *France* ſworn unto his Part.

' *Sixthly*, The mindful Hatred ' that the *French* King hath a- ' mong all his Commons; the ' Fear that he is in by the Di- ' ſtruſt of his Lords, not knowing ' which of them are his Friends ' or his Enemies; the Doubt, leſt ' that the *French* King hath a- ' mongſt all his Commons, not be- ' ing preſſed, may gather Friends, ' and fortify Places now weak, ' which afterwards by Peace may ' be impregnable; the Diſho- ' nour which the *French* King ' hath taken in *Italy*; the Con- ' ſideration between the States of ' *Italy*; the Abandoning of the ' *French* King by the *Venetians*, ' by reaſon of the new-elected ' Pope, who ſhall declare them- ' ſelves more ſincerely, for the ' Emperor and the King's Grace, ' than before; the Way and ' Means found on this Side for ' entering the Bowels of *France*, ' without beſieging any ſtrong ' Places; the Example of ſmall

' Reſiſt-

" or rather with more, which then ſhall be a very " Demonſtration and manifeſt Appearance, that his " Holineſs ſingularly tendereth and loveth me; where- " fore I may take ſuch Rejoice and Comfort, as Praiſe " hereafter may be to the Contentation of his Holi- " neſs. And thus by good Manner to uſe yourſelf in " this Matter, without Knowledge that it proceedeth " of me, that, by your politick Handling, not only " the ſaid Faculties may be extended to my Deſire, but " alſo the Pope's Holineſs to know what it is that he " hath

' ſiſtance againſt the Duke of ' *Suffolk*, and ſemblably a- ' gainſt the Emperor on that ' Side on *Spain*, and Faculty ' to win the People's Favours; ' the Diſcourage of the *French* ' King, by Diſappointment of the ' *Scottiſh* Invaſion, and flying of ' the Duke of *Albany*; the An- ' noyance already done to the ' *Scots*, not being minded or ' able to continue the Wars; ' the Readineſs wherein the Em- ' peror and the King's Ships, ' Artillery and Ordnance are ' in; the goodly Sums of Money ' granted to the Emperor and ' the King, by their Lords and ' Commons; the Likelihood ' that the *French* King, once ' preſſed, ſhall not be able of a ' long Seaſon to be again ſo inſo- ' lent, whereby an End ſhall be ' of the Wars in *Chriſtendom* ' for many a Day; and, finally, ' * *the great Incertainty which is* ' *to be reckoned in Obeiſance of* ' *any Conventions to be made* ' *by the* French *King, concerning* ' *the ſame Peace or Truce, which* ' *he will no longer obſerve than* ' *ſhall be for his own Benefit.*

* We doubt it has been ever ſo.

' Theſe Things well and ſub- ' ſtantially conſidered, the King's ' ſpecial Truſt is, that the Pope's ' Holineſs, who hath always ' had fervent Inclination to thoſe ' Matters, as to a virtuous Car- ' dinal and honourable Member ' of Chriſt's Church appertain- ' eth, will, now that it hath ' pleaſed Almighty God to con- ' ſtitute and ordain him to be ' Head of the ſame, no leſs ten- ' der the Weal and Quiet of ' *Chriſtendom*, than he hath ' hitherto been moſt deſirous ' thereof, which ſhall be the ' higheſt Merit and Honour, that ' in this his beginning, his Holi- ' neſs may or can attain. Where- ' fore the King's inſtant Deſire ' is, to know aſſuredly where- ' unto his Grace may truſt, and ' what Expectation his Highneſs ' may have of perfect Favour, and ' effectual Aſſiſtance from thoſe ' Parts, without any more out- ' ward Demonſtrations to be ' made therein, than ſhall be ' entirely and ſincerely accom- ' pliſhed: For, as yet hitherto ' the King's Grace, for the in- ' ward Zeal which he hath to ' the Weal of *Chriſtendom*, hath

' in

" hath done for me, and what of Likelihood is my " Expectation. In which your doing you ſhall ad- " miniſter unto me ſingular Pleaſure, to be amongſt " other remembered accordingly; and heartily fare " you well.

" At my Palace beſides *Weſtminſter*, the laſt of *Fe-* " *bruary*.

" *Your loving Friend*,

" T. CARDINALIS EBOR."

The

' in a manner born the weighti-
' eſt Burthen of theſe Wars,
' and moſt effectually hath pro-
' ceeded unto the ſame, obſerv-
' ing all Promiſes without Vari-
' ance, Delay, or Alteration;
' others have been more ſlack
' and remiſs, than ſhall be now
' convenient or needful to re-
' hearſe: And hitherto no Pro-
' fit hath come unto his High-
' neſs, but only honourable Re-
' nown for his gracious and vir-
' tuous Mind and Intent, tho'
' other be in State and Condition
' more mete to their Purpoſe,
' Praiſe, and hearken to a per-
' petual Peace, which in Proceſs
' ſhall be but a Colour and Sha-
' dow of Goodneſs, rather than
' that Thing whereof may come
' in the Iſſue a perfect and gene-
' neral Eſtabliſhment of Reſt and
' Peace in all *Chriſtendom*.

' The Premiſes well and ſub-
' ſtantially conſidered, it ſhall
' not only be a virtuous and me-
' ritorious, but alſo a faithful Act,
' for the Pope's Holineſs to de-
' clare his full Mind, Reſoluti-
' on, and Intent plainly herein
' to the King's Grace, who hath
' been always inclined to do un-
' to the Holy Church, and par-
' ticularly to the Pope now be-
' ing, as much Honour as hath
' been in the Faculty and Power
' of his Grace, who may, by
' ſuch loving Knowledge as ſhall
' be given unto him by the Pope's
' Holineſs, order and rain his
' weighty Matters and Cauſes
' accordingly: For his Holineſs,
' after ſo many Gratitudes to the
' holy See Apoſtolick, heretofore
' moſt largely extended, is now
' deſirous and minded to expe-
' riment and ſee what Correſpon-
' dency ſhall be ſhewed unto his
' Grace, for Recovery of ſuch
' Portions as belong to his moſt
' mighty Titles and Inheritance,
' detained and with-holden by
' the common Enemy, like as
' to Policy, Wiſdom, and good
' Reaſon doth appertain. And
' to the Intent that ſemblable
' Knowledge may be had of the
' Minds, Intents, and Diſpoſiti-
' ons, as well of the *Venetians* as
' alſo of the Duke of *Millaine*,
' how they will concur for the
' Annoyance of the Enemy, the
' King's Mind is, either by
' your ſpecial Letters to be ſent
' unto *Venice*, or by ſuch other

' good

The different Bulls, the Cardinal mentions in the foregoing Letter, were two from *Leo* the Xth, dated at *Rome*, the 8th of the Ides of *January*, and the Kalends of *April*, 1521, wherein are ſhewn the ſeveral Prolongations of his Legateſhip.

The other Bull was from *Adrian* the VIth, which granted the Cardinal a Prolongation of the Legateſhip for five Years, after the Expiration of the five laſt Years granted by *Leo* the Xth, dated at *Rome* the Day before the Ides of *June*, 1523. *Adrian* alſo granted

' good Means as you ſhall think ' convenient, ye do enſearch, ' know, and underſtand the In- ' clination, Mind, and Reſolu- ' tion of the *Venetians*; which ' had, the King's Highneſs is con- ' tented, that Mr. *Secretary* and ' Mr. *Hannibal*, in Conſideration ' of your long Demurs in theſe ' Parts, ſhall return Home, paſ- ' ſing by the Duke of *Millaine*, ' for Knowledge of his Intent ' and Mind in the Premiſes; for ' which purpoſe Letters of Cre- ' dence ſhall be a ſufficient In- ' ſtruction for you in ſuch Things, ' as ſhall be needful to be com- ' manded at this Time.

' Furthermore ye ſhall, on ' the King's Behalf, ſhew unto ' the Pope's Holineſs, that if the ' ſame be minded to eſtabliſh ' the further univerſal Peace in ' *Chriſtendom*, none ſo good or ' convenient Way or Means can ' be deviſed, to compel the ' common Enemy to come unto ' honourable and reaſonable Con- ' ditions, as at this Time to preſs ' him earneſtly and by all Ways ' poſſible. Wherefore amongſt ' other Annoyances to be done ' unto him, as well on that Side ' as of the Countries of *Spain*, ' and on this Side, it ſhall be ' in any ways requiſite and ex- ' pedient, that the Duke of *Bour-* ' *bon*, whereſoever he be at this ' preſent Time, either in *Italy*, ' *Spain*, or elſewhere, ſhall with ' all poſſible and convenient Di- ' ligence, repair ſtrait hither to ' the King's Grace, with whom ' his Highneſs is minded to con- ' clude, on the Emperor's Be- ' half and his own, ſuch nota- ' ble Things, for Annoyance of ' his ſaid Enemy, as, God will- ' ing, ſhall be for the high Fur- ' therance of the common Cauſe ' and Affairs; and for that Cauſe ' you ſhall deſire his Holineſs to ' put his Hand and Help, that ' in any wiſe the ſaid Duke of ' *Bourbon* may repair hither, as ' is aforeſaid; and ſolemnly, if ' he remain in thoſe Parts, you ' may confer with him upon his ' ſpeedy Coming, as alſo to aſſure, ' that the King's Highneſs will ' be glad and very joyous to ſee ' him within this Realm, being ' minded to accept and entertain ' him in moſt kind and loving ' Manner, and to take ſuch Way ' with him by the Emperor's

' Con-

granted the Cardinal two other Bulls; the firſt dated the 6th of the Ides of *November*, 1522, for holding the Abbey of *St. Alban*, *in Commendam*, during his Life; the other for conferring the Biſhoprick of *Durham* on the Cardinal, without Prejudice to his other Benefices, dated at *Rome* the 7th of the Kalends of *April*, 1523.

Before the Cloſe of the laſt Year the Cardinal received a Letter from *Andrew Gritti*, Doge of *Venice*, dated at that City in *Italy*, wherein he thanks him for pro-

‘ Conſent, Concurrence, and Agreement, for the Enterpriſes ‘ to be atchieved and done with ‘ all Diligence, as ſhall be to ‘ his moſt Surety, Honour, and ‘ Weal: Whereas, if he ſhould ‘ refuſe to come unto the King's ‘ Grace, for Order to be taken ‘ in the preſent Affairs, his ‘ Highneſs is not minded to ‘ charge himſelf further than ‘ he hath done, for any Aſſiſtance to be done unto the ſaid ‘ Duke.

‘ And thus, by all good ‘ Means to you poſſible, you ‘ ſhall advance and ſollicit, as ‘ well with the Pope's Holineſs ‘ as otherwiſe, that no Tract or ‘ Delay be uſed therein; but that, ‘ to avoid Loſs of Time, which ‘ cannot be recovered, the ſaid ‘ Duke may accelerate his Coming into this Realm; and in ‘ caſe, after Things perfected ‘ with the King's Grace, he ſhall ‘ think good to paſs into *Spain*, ‘ yet the moſt requiſite Way, for ‘ the ſubſtantial promoting of all ‘ the common Affairs, were to paſs ‘ by the King's Grace, if he be ‘ not paſſed already out of *Italy*; ‘ aſſertaining you, that the King's ‘ Highneſs hath ſemblably written unto the Emperor, that, ‘ if before the Arrival of theſe ‘ Letters, the ſaid Duke ſhall ‘ have fortuned to take the Sea ‘ towards *Spain*, the Emperor ‘ ſhall, upon his coming to him, ‘ cauſe him to uſe all poſſible ‘ Diligence in his coming hither, ‘ like as I am ſure the Emperor, knowing the Importunity ‘ of the Matter, will do accordingly.

‘ Albeit that, in the beginning of this Letter, it is mentioned, that the King's Grace ‘ not abiding nor tarrying any ‘ Intimation to be made by the ‘ Pope's Holineſs of his Election, ‘ doth ſend now his Letters congratulatory, as is aforeſaid; yet ‘ nevertheleſs, I advertiſe you ‘ to be kept unto yourſelf, that ‘ I have received with convenient Diligence at ſeveral times, ‘ not only your Letters of the ‘ 3d Day of *Dec.* but alſo of the ‘ 18th of the ſame.

‘ In the firſt was contained ‘ Matter of right good Effect, ‘ whereat the King's Highneſs ‘ and I take ſingular Rejoice and ‘ Comfort, to hear and perceive

‘ the

procuring Peace between the Emperor and the Republick.

The *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors at *Rome*, having now received their proper Inſtructions and Diſpatches from their Maſter and Cardinal *Wolſey*, were introduced in great State to an Audience of the Pope, wherein they complimented his Holineſs upon his Exaltation in his Majeſty's Name, and at the ſame Time preſented to him congratulatory Letters from the King and the Cardinal, which were extreamly well received by the Pope.

Mr.

' the Pope's Holineſs was of ſo ' good Mind and Inclination ' towards the Emperor's and ' the King's Affairs, minding ' either to concur with him ef- ' fectually, in Caſe they may ' be advertiſed they intend to ' continue and proſecute the ' Wars after this Winter; or ' elſe, if the Emperor be not ' able ſo to do, if he as Pope ' did enter the League, would ' keep himſelf in ſuch State as ' he might be Mediator. That ' after the *French* King ſhould ' offer ſuch Peace to them both ' as ſhould ſtand with their ' Honour, wherein his Holi- ' neſs then, as ye affirmed, had ' great Hope, with other good ' Matters contained in your ſaid ' former Letters: Howbeit, the ' laſt ſeemed to be of another ' Sort, conſidering that, as ye ' writ, his Holineſs giveth too ' much hearkening unto the ' *French* Cardinals, with other ' Matters therein contained, ' founding rather to an Appear- ' ance of overmuch Inclination ' to the *French* Party, and their ' Practices and Abuſes, than un- ' to this firm Adhering unto ' the King and Emperor. Where- ' fore the King's Highneſs and ' I not a little marvel, having ' made this our ſpecial Truſt ' and Confidence, that, upon ' your Declaration unto him of ' the King's Mind and Intent, ' with the great Reaſons and ' urgent Conſiderations ſpecified ' before in our Letters, why the ' common Enemy ſhall be ear- ' neſtly, preſſed without which ' he will never be induced to any ' reaſonable Point, his Holineſs ' enſuing that which he wrote ' in your former Letters, will ' effectually with the King and ' the Emperor's, either declaring ' himſelf to accept the League, ' if the Emperor and King will ' continue the Wars; and mak- ' ing alſo ſome new League ' with the King's Grace and the ' Emperor, as your ſaid Letters ' purport; or elſe, if the Em- ' peror ſhall not be furniſhed ' for the ſaid Continuance, to ' produce by Policy an honour- ' able and profitable Peace, as ' is aforeſaid: For you may ſay ' unto his Holineſs, that of all

' Per-

Mr. *Hannibal* thereupon writes to *Wolſey*, informing him, "That the King and his Eminence were ſo "much in Favour with the Pope, that whatever they "ſhould aſk, his Holineſs would readily grant." *

Mr. *Pace*, by Letter, alſo informs the Cardinal, "That "his Holineſs had taken a Ring from off his own Finger, and not only preſented it to him, but even put it "on his (Mr. *Pace*'s) Finger himſelf; at the ſame Time "expreſſing his high Value both for his Majeſty and "the Cardinal." And further adds, "That it would "be

'Perſons living, which might 'have aſpired unto this Dignity, 'the King's and my entire Con'fidence is, that none could or 'would be more favourable unto 'the Emperor and King's Affairs 'than he.

And it were not honourable 'that his Holineſs, being Car'dinal of the League, with o'ther Things ſounding to the 'Peachment of the common Ene'my, ſhould now, being Pope, 'find Fault or Exception at the 'ſame; and ſure may he be, 'that whatſoever Practice of the '*Frenchmen* ſhall ſet forth with 'him, he ſhall find them but 'Abuſes, wherein his Holineſs 'hath good Experience in Times 'paſt, knowing right well, *That 'they will neither obſerve nor 'keep any of their Conventions, 'or Promiſes, longer than ſhall 'ſtand with their Commodity 'and Profit.* Beſides his Holi'neſs, not adhering and concur'ring effectually with the King 'and Emperor, it ſhould be an 'Occaſion for them to think 'no ſmall Ingratitude for the 'ſame, and therefore their Cau'ſes and Affairs ſhould be great'ly hindered, and the Reputa'tion of the Emperor fruſtrated 'greatly, who by that Means 'ſhould be further from any 'good or reaſonable Way to be 'taken than he is now, and 'conſequently the Enemy proſ'pering in *Italy*; and the King 'and the Emperor deſpairing 'of the Pope's entire Favour, 'what a Danger as well the 'State of his Holineſs as of all '*Italy* were in, is plain and ea'ſy to be conſidered; the *French* 'King, being alſo at ſuch ſore 'Deal, would think to have all 'his Pleaſures and Commands of 'the Pope, which had or refu'ſed, he then, having ſo great a 'Foot, would and might uſe 'his Holineſs as a Chaplain.

'And, finally, the Pope, not 'then ſo well aſſured of the 'King's and Emperor's Aſſiſ'tance, as he now is, ſhould 'experiment what it were to 'caſt away two ſuch Friends, 'which be able and minded to 'maintain, conſerve, and defend 'his

* See the Original Letter in the *Exchequer* Record-office.

" be a ſingular Pleaſure to him, to have the Op-
" portunity of placing this valuable Preſent on his
" Eminence's Finger."

The Pope, to convince the Cardinal of the great Reſpect he had for him, was pleaſed to make him his *perpetual Legate*, enlarged his Commiſſion, by empowering him to viſit and reform Religious Houſes; ſo that, by theſe and other Powers, he was inveſted with ſo much Authority, that he was revered as Pope in *England*, and was more and more courted by all the Princes in *Europe*.

Clement

' his Eſtate to the uttermoſt. The
' Sect alſo of the *Lutherans* might,
' by Means thereof, the rather
' be accepted by divers Subjects
' of the Emperor, as well in
' *Almaine* as elſewhere, which
' ſhould hear of the Pope's In-
' gratitude and Peace; that
' might ſpread ſo far both in
' *France*, and *Spain*, and *Italy*,
' that the Dignity of Chriſt's
' Church might thereby in brief
' Time be ſuppreſſed, and had
' in ſmall Reputation. All which
' Dangers, with many more
' which might enſue, for lack
' of the Pope's effectual joining
' at this Time with the King
' and Emperor, either for War
' or conducing of Peace, as is
' aforeſaid, ye muſt inſtantly be-
' ſeech his Highneſs virtuouſly
' and diſcreetly to ponder and
' remember, ſhewing unto the
' ſame, that for Knowledgment
' the Emperor is minded and
' able to do this Summer for the
' Annoyance of the Enemy, his
' Highneſs hath before this by
' me diſpatched his eſpecial Let-
' ters, both to his Majeſty and
' alſo to the King's Ambaſſador
' there reſident, with Intima-
' tion of the King's Mind, be-
' ing right well able, and think-
' ing beſt, that the Enemy be
' earneſtly preſſed on both Sides;
' if the Emperor ſhould be fur-
' niſhed to do the ſemblable for
' lack thereof; yet there may
' be ſuch an Enterprize attempt-
' ed, and is deviſed to be done
' by the Duke of *Bourbon*, with
' the Aſſiſtance he ſhall have
' from the King and Emperor,
' without exceſſive Charges and
' Praiſe, ſhall as much and more
' abaſe the *French* King, than
' if the King's Grace and Em-
' peror had invaded *France* in
' their own Perſons with their
' Armies royal: To which Pur-
' poſe the King's Highneſs hath
' not only inſtructed his Ambaſ-
' ſadors reſident with the Empe-
' ror, looking right ſhortly for
' the Emperor's Anſwer and Re-
' ſolution therein, with repairing
' hither of the Duke of *Bour-
' bon*; but alſo hath written to
' the Lady *Margaret*, deſiring
' her to call a Council general,
' like as the King's Highneſs
' doth here the ſemblable, and

Clement alſo, to ſhew his Regard for the Court of *England*, was pleaſed, by a particular Bull, dated at *Rome* the 10th of *March*, 1524, to confirm the King's Title of *Defender of the Faith*.

Whilſt theſe Matters were tranſacting between the Courts of *Rome* and *England*, Dr. *Fiſher*, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, was employed in publiſhing a Book againſt *Luther*;

' to know and underſtand what ' they will contribute, and what ' ſhe and the other the Empe- ' ror's *Low Countries* be minded ' to do in this Behalf. Wherefore ' ye ſhall exhort the Pope's Ho- ' lineſs in any wiſe to leave and ' forbear any Demonſtration of ' Favour and Inclination to- ' wards the *French* Part, ſhew- ' ing himſelf firm and con- ' ſtant in his Love and Affection ' towards the Emperor and the ' King's Cauſe, which ſhall be ' the next Means and Way to ' make the *French* King to make ' Overture and Offer of reaſona- ' ble Conditions, and much the ' rather if his Holineſs will de- ' clare himſelf in the League; ' whereas by the contrary he ' ſhall bring the Enemy to ſuch ' Elation, that uſing firſt craf- ' ty Practices and Subornations ' with the Pope's Holineſs, a- ' gainſt whom undoubtedly he ' beareth in his Heart an old, ' rooted, ſecret, and hidden Ma- ' lice, and ſetting the leſs by the ' Emperor and the King's Grace, ' he ſhall at the laſt, finding ' Time and Opportunity, diſco- ' ver his peſtiferous Intent to the ' utter Ruin, Slander, and Op- ' preſſion as well of the Dignity ' of the Church of *Rome*, as alſo ' of the State of *Italy* for ever.

' And therefore, if the Pope's ' Holineſs be minded to be the ' Author of a good Peace, and ' Unity in *Chriſtendom*, and will ' regard his own Weal, Ho- ' nour, and Surety, he muſt ef- ' fectually adhere to the Empe- ' ror and King, leaving his Fa- ' miliarity with the *French* Car- ' dinals, and hearkening to the ' Practices of their Faction, which ' will be the immediate Way to ' cauſe the common Enemy to ' know himſelf, and either to ' come to reaſonable and honour- ' able Conditions, or by the firm ' Concurrence together of the ' Pope, and Emperor, and the ' King's Grace, with the *Vene- ' tians* and other States of *Italy*, ' and other their Friends, to be ' brought to ſuch baſe and low ' Eſtate, as he ſhall not be able ' to do Annoyance, Diſpleaſure, ' and Hurt unto them hereafter: ' And of the Pope's Anſwer here- ' in, with all Matters worthy of ' Knowledge, which you ſhall ' advertiſe me by your Letters, ' in Diligence, to the Intent the ' King's Grace may train his ' Matters accordingly; and of ' the coming hither of Mr. ' *Malchior* from the Pope, and ' is not yet arrived, nor any ' Knowledge had of him, but ' by your Letters, to make un- ' to him ſuch Anſwers as ſhall ' appertain.'

Luther; for which the King, in his Patent for appropriating it to the Author's Benefit, highly commends the Biſhop's Zeal, for writing in Defence of the *Catholick Church*, of which his Majeſty had given many Proofs of his being the *Royal Defender*.

However, it was remarked that the *Reformation* ſeemed to have made a mighty Progreſs in *England* at this Time, and, according to *Strype*'s Memorials, it was rather favoured than proſecuted: For it appears that Mr. *Stafford*, a Fellow of *Pembroke-hall* in *Cambridge*, read publick Lectures in Divinity there, out of the *Holy Scriptures*; and Biſhop *Latimer*, afterwards an eminent *Reformer*, was at this Time Univerſity-preacher.

Monſ. *Rapin* now begins to be again dazzled at the Addition of good Fortune that attended *Wolſey*, and ſays, "He was now raiſed to the higheſt Pinnacle of Grandeur that a Subject could aſpire to. "He was *Archbiſhop of* York, *Biſhop of* Durham, "*Abbot of* St. Albans, *Cardinal*, *Legate a Latere* "*for Life*, *Lord Chancellor of* England, *Prime Miniſter* and *Favourite*; careſſed by the *Emperor*, reſpected by the *Pope*, regarded by all the Princes of "*Europe*, with almoſt an abſolute Power in *England*, "where nothing material was tranſacted either in "Spirituals or Temporals, but by his *ſole* Direction! "It is eaſy to ſee ſo many Advantages were but too "capable of rendering him proud and inſolent.* "*He looked upon the King's Subjects as Slaves, and,* "*unfor-*

* As to this Charge, *Salmon* remarks, 'That *Rapin*, with 'a great deal of Joy, joins in 'the common Cry againſt this 'Prelate, as much on Account 'of his being a Churchman, as 'for other Reaſons: And, where 'the preceding Writers have not 'furniſhed him with a ſufficient 'Fund of Scandal, he does not 'ſcruple to be the original Inventor, and to go greater 'Lengths in traducing this great 'Man, than any that have gone 'before him!' This he inſtances in *Rapin*'s flagrant *Outrages* above quoted, and many more he might have added.

" *unfortunately for them, inſpired the King by degrees* " *with the ſame Principles, and inſinuated to him,* " *that he ought to conſider the Parliament only as an* " *Inſtrument to execute his Will!* Theſe Inſinuations " were but too effectual, as will be ſeen in the Se- " quel, in order to render him independant of the " Parliament. He perſuaded him to exact from his " Subjects, at once, *the Subſidy given by Parliament,* " *and payable in four Years.** Every one aſcribed to the " Cardinal this illegal Proceeding, which eſtabliſh- " ed a very dangerous Precedent; but he little re- " garded the Complaints of the People, ſince he was " ſecure of the King's Countenance, and the Pope's " Protection."

But, to quit Monſieur for the preſent, let us attend to the Character the Reverend Dr. *Fiddes* gives of *Wolſey*, at this Time, who takes notice, " That, tho' " the Cardinal had continued his Sollicitations to ad- " vance the Republick of Letters, yet he was involv- " ved in the moſt arduous and weighty Affairs of the " State. Nothing ſhewed more the Force and " Strength of his Genius, than that he was able to " attend ſo many Projects at Home and Abroad in " different Courts, without Diſtraction, or the leaſt " viſible Diſcompoſure of Mind; for he ever ap- " peared to preſerve the ſame eaſy, diſengaged Tem- " per,

* But, we think, a Letter from an Hon. Member of that Houſe, to a noble Lord, ſhould be preferred to this *Evidence*, who therein ſays, there was but *two Years* allowed for collecting it. See p. 258 of this Vol. And *Hall*'s Relation of this Affair is, 'The Cardinal ſent out Commiſſioners in the Month of *Oct.* through the Realm, commanding, 'that every Man worth 40*l.* ſhould pay the Subſidy 'out of hand, and before the 'Days of Payment. This was 'called an Anticipation, which 'is to ſay, a Thing taken, or 'a Thing coming before its Time 'or Seaſon.' But none of the Authors, mentioned by *Rapin* himſelf, have ſo much as pretended to charge *Wolſey*, upon this Occaſion, with looking upon the *King's Subjects as Slaves*, &c. What Credit can then be given to ſuch an Hiſtorian as *Rapin?*

" per, and diſcovered a Complacency in his Diſcourſe " and Manner, as if his whole Attention was taken " up with what related to the Rules or Subject of " preſent Converſation.

" The Cardinal did not only aſſiſt by his Advice " in the great Councils of the Realm, where one " would have thought his very Attendance, with the " Care of all the Churches, and with his other Le- " gatine Offices, might have been ſufficient to em- " ploy whatever Time he could ſpare from the con- " venient Support or Refreſhment of Life; but he " wrote long Letters; and, if we conſider the impor- " tant Matters contained in them, might ſeem la- " boured Diſpatches, tho' he hath had few Superiors " to an eaſy and flowing, or rather too diffuſive " Stile; and therefore, tho' we have no Works of " his extant, which may properly intitle him to the " Character of an Author, yet, if all his Letters and " Inſtructions could be found and collected, in one " or more Volumes, there are an infinite Number, " who, upon a Compariſon of their Works with his, " would appear much leſs to deſerve that Name. " The Remains which are preſerved to us fall chiefly " within the Compaſs of the Years 1523, 1524, 1525, " and 1526. If we may take an Eſtimate of theſe " Diſpatches, which are wanting during the whole " Courſe of his Miniſtry, from the Proportion they " may be ſuppoſed to bear to thoſe known to us, " they would, if recovered, compoſe ſeveral valuable " Volumes."

Dr. Sampſon *made the Cardinal's Receiver in* Spain.

Dr. *Sampſon*, who had been the Cardinal's Vicar-general at *Tournay*, had ſo well acquitted himſelf in that Service, that, upon the Breaking out of the War between *England* and *France*, the Cardinal ſent him into *Spain* to receive his Penſions from that Crown. In which Truſt alſo *Sampſon* behaved with much Prudence and Integrity, and to the great Satisfaction of his

his Maſter; as appears from many original Letters that paſſed on that Occaſion, ever ſince preſerved in the *Exchequer* Record-office.

L. Vives's *Character, Reception in* England, *and Death.*

Ludovicus Vives, born at *Valencia* in *Spain*, having acquired a great Reputation for his Knowledge in *Divinity* and the *Canon Law*, it was not long before his Fame reached over to *England*, where he was preſented by Dr. *Fox*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, in the Year 1517, to a Fellowſhip in *Corpus Chriſti* College, *Oxford*, tho' he reſided at that Time at *Louvain*; and was ſo much eſteemed, that *Eraſmus* ſubmitted ſeveral of his Writings to his Correction.

Some Time after Cardinal *Wolſey* ſent him an Invitation to viſit *England*, which he accepted of, and read the Cardinal Lectures in *Humanity* with great Applauſe: Tho' it was ſaid, that what chiefly induced him to come over was the great Eſteem Queen *Catherine* had expreſſed for him. In ſhort, great Honours were done him by all the *Engliſh*, Penſions and frequent Preſents made him, which he received; the King and Queen attended his Sermons, and appointed him Princeſs *Mary*'s Preceptor in the *Latin* Tongue. He was in great Eſteem at *Oxford*, and wrote ſeveral learned Pieces which are ſtill extant. He died at *Bruges* in the Year 1544, much regretted by all the learned World, eſpecially the *Literati* in *Britain*.

Dr. Hannibal *made Maſter of the Rolls.*

This Year, in the room of Dr. *John Clarke*, Biſhop of *Bath*, Dr. *Thomas Hannibal* was appointed Maſter of the Rolls, who was educated at *Cambridge*, where he took his Degrees of *Doctor in Divinity* and *Civil Law*; but in 1504 was incorporated in *Oxford*. He afterwards was Prebendary of *York*, and had ſome other Preferments given him.

In 1522 he was ſent to *Rome*, in Capacity of Agent for Cardinal *Wolſey*; and in ſome Time after was taken into the King's Service. On

"On the 1st of *September*, 1524, says *Hollingshead*, "Dr. *Thomas Hannibal*, Master of the Rolls, was re- "ceived into *London* by Earls and Bishops, and like- "wise other Nobles and Gentlemen, as Ambassador "from the Pope, and who brought with him a Rose "of Gold for a Token to the King. And on the "Day of the *Nativity of our Lady*, after a solemn "Mass, sung by the Cardinal of *York*, the said Pre- "sent was delivered to the King, which was a Tree "forged out of fair Gold, and wrought with Branches, "Leaves, and Flowers, resembling Roses. This Tree "was fixed in a Pot of Gold, filled with Dust of the "same Metal for Mould, and supported on three "antique Feet like a Tripod. The Pot was of "Measure half a Pint. In the top Rose was a fair "Sapphire-loop pierced, the Bigness of an Acorn. "The Tree was the Heighth of half an *English* "Yard, and a Foot in Breadth."

This Year was remarkable for the Deaths of several eminent Persons.

Mr. Attorney General dies.

On the 7th of *April*, *John Roper*,* Esq; the King's Attorney General, died at his Country Seat much lamented.

Sir Thomas Lovell *dies.*

On the 25th of *May* died the famous Sir *Thomas Lovell*, Knight of the most Noble Order of the Garter, (one of the Cardinal's first Patrons) who, being grown into Years, spent

* This Gentleman was born at *Eltham* in *Kent*, and married *Jane*, Daughter and Coheiress of the worthy Sir *John Fineaux*, Lord Chief Justice of the *King's-bench*, before-mentioned, by whom he had two Sons; the Eldest, named *William*, married *Margaret*, Daughter of the famous Sir *Thomas More*; and from him was descended *Christopher Roper*, Esq; Ancestor of the present Lord *Teynham*. His Son and Heir, *John Roper*, was knighted the 19th of *July*, 1603; and, on the 9th of the same Month, 1616, was advanced to the Dignity of Baron of this Realm by the Title of Lord *Teynham*, from whom is descended the Right Honourable *Harry Roper*, who now inherits that Title. This noble Lord married a very worthy Lady, Daughter of —— *Powel*, Esq; of *Sandford*, in the County of *Oxford*.

ſpent the latter Part of his Days in a retired Country Life, and was buried at *Halywell* Nunnery near *London*, to which he had been a great Benefactor, not only in building a beautiful Chapel, but alſo in other noble Buildings, and endowing the ſame with Lands.

The Duke of Norfolk's Death and Character.

The Duke of *Norfolk*, being grown into Years, retired from Court in 1523 to his Seat in the Country, where he died in the 82d Year of his Age, and was buried in the Church of the Priory of *Thetford* in *Norfolk*; and his Son *Thomas*, Earl of *Surry*, * ſucceeded him in Honour and Eſtate.

This

* This Nobleman had by his Wife, Daughter of the unfortunate Duke of *Buckingham*, *Henry* Earl of *Surry*; who had his Education at *Windſor*, in Company with *Henry Fitz-roy*, Duke of *Richmond*, natural Son of King *Henry* the VIIIth. They afterwards went together to *Paris*, in order to perfect themſelves in the *French* Tongue, and improve in any Thing that might offer conſiſtent with their Quality. In ſhort, their Friendſhip, as they advanced in Maturity, grew every Day more and more firm, and concluded, at laſt, in the young Duke's marrying *Mary*, the Earl's Siſter; but dying in the 17th Year of his Age, the Earl thereupon betook himſelf to Travelling, and firſt viſited the Emperor's Court; from thence he proceeded to *Florence*, to get ſight of a beautiful *Florentine*, called *Geraldine*, with whom he was very much taken. Here he ſignalized himſelf, in Honour of that Lady, in a Tournament, challenged the gallant Knights of all Nations, and came off with great Renown.

He intended to have paſſed thro' all the other capital Cities of *Europe*, but was prevented by the King's Royal Command, to return Home as ſpeedily as poſſible; on which he left *Italy*, where, having taſted the lofty and ſublime Numbers of the *Italian* Poeſy, he afterwards became one of our *Engliſh* Worthies, who illuſtrated his high Birth with Learning, and his Learning with the Knowledge of divers Languages, to which he attained in his Travels; ſo that the Eulogy made afterwards for his Son, '*That he was the moſt* '*learned amongſt the Nobility,* '*and the moſt noble among the* '*Learned*,' might have been very fitly applied to the Father.

His noble Son, great for his Skill in *Poetry*, was called one of the firſt Refiners of the *Engliſh* Tongue; was Author of ſeveral elegant Pieces now extant; the Excellencies of which *Michael Drayton*, in his ENGLAND's *Heroical Epiſtles*, ſets forth; and whom Mr. *Pope*, in his *Windſor-Foreſt*, thus celebrates:

Here

THOMAS
CROMWELL
SOLA VIRTUS INVICTA

This Nobleman was deſcended from an illuſtrious Houſe (See Vol. II. fol. 205) with all the neceſſary Talents of acquiring Glory, being facetious, witty; of

Here noble SURRY *felt the ſacred Rage,*
SURRY, *the* GRANVILLE *of a former Age;*
Matchleſs his Pen, victorious was his Lance,
Bold in the Liſts, and graceful in the Dance.
In the ſame Shades, the Cupids tun'd his Lyre,
To the ſame Notes of Love and ſoft Deſire;
Fair GERALDINE! *bright Object of his Vow,*
Then fill'd the Groves, as heav'nly MIRA *now.*

This noble Earl fell at laſt under the Diſpleaſure of *Henry* the VIIIth, was tried, condemned, and at length beheaded, for High Treaſon, on *Tower-hill*, the 19th of *Jan.* 1547. He left two Sons, *Thomas* and *Henry*.

Thomas afterwards became D. of *Norfolk*, and was alſo beheaded *June* 2, 1572, for Treaſon, (whoſe Effigies we here preſent) in endeavouring to marry the Queen of *Scots*. He left three Sons, *Philip*, *Thomas* and *William*.

Philip became Earl of *Surry*, it having been antiently adjudged in Parliament a local Dignity, and not forfeited by the Attainder of his Father. However, this Nobleman was alſo unfortunate, for he died in Priſon; but left a Son,

Thomas, Earl of *Arundel* and *Surry*, born during his Father's Impriſonment, who was reſtored in Blood 1 *James* I. made primier Earl Marſhal of *England*, and created Earl of *Norfolk* on the 6th of *June*, 20 *Car.* I. He was alſo employed in ſeveral great Offices, but at laſt died at *Padua*, in *Italy*, *Nov.* 14, 1646.

Henry, his ſecond Son, ſucceeded him in his Honour and Eſtate, who had Iſſue nine Sons, and died *April* 22, 1652.

Thomas, the eldeſt, ſucceeded his Father in the Titles of *Arundel*, *Surry*, and *Norfolk*, and in 1661 was reſtored to that of D. of *Norfolk*. But this Nobleman dying alſo at *Padua*, without Iſſue, was ſucceeded by

Henry, his Brother, who had been created, by King *Charles* the IId, Earl of *Norwich*; and, by the ſame Patent, granted to him, his Heirs, *&c.* the Office of Earl-Marſhal of *England*. Upon his Death, on *Jan.* 11, 1683, his Grace was ſucceeded in his Honours and Eſtate by

Henry, his eldeſt Son, who, dying without Iſſue, *April* 2, 1701, was ſucceeded by

Thomas, eldeſt Son of *Thomas*, his Grace's Brother, who was unhappily caſt away at *Breſt*, *Nov.* 1689. This Nobleman died without Iſſue, whereby his Grace

Edward, his Brother, the preſent Duke of *Norfolk*, ſucceeded, who as yet has no Iſſue by his Dutcheſs; but his Brother *Philip*, alſo living, has a Son and a Daughter.

of vaſt Vivacity, ſolid Judgment, great Moderation and Integrity, of a majeſtick but humble Deportment; a capacious Genius, and a great Soul, which he diſcovered on all Occaſions, both as a Stateſman and General; very devout in his Way of Worſhip, and ſo punctual in all his Payments, that the Tablet affixed on his Monument declares, "That at the Time of "his Death no Man could demand a Groat of him." As he lived beloved by the beſt, ſo he died lamented by all.

Death and Family of Biſhop Audley.

In *Auguſt*, 1524, Dr. *Edmund Audley*, Biſhop of *Salisbury*, of the antient and noble Family of the Lord *Audley*,* died, and was buried in a Chapel built by himſelf at *Kemſbury*, on the South Side of the High Altar. He was made Biſhop of *Rocheſter* in the Year 1480, tranſlated in 1493 to *Hereford*, and from thence to *Salisbury* in 1502. He built a Library at *Oxford*, and was ſucceeded in his See by Cardinal *Campeius*, with the King's Conſent.

Dr. Leigh *made Biſhop of* Litchfield, *and Lord Preſident of* Wales.

Rowland Leigh, Doctor of Laws, bred at *Cambridge*, ſucceeded to the Biſhoprick of *Litchfield* and *Coventry*, † upon the Death of Biſhop *Blythe*, and was conſecrated the 14th of *April*. He was very remarkable for two Things; firſt, thro' his Procurement the Principality of *Wales* (of which he was Lord Preſident when he died) was incorporated and united to

* This Family has produced ſeveral illuſtrious Peers, able Senators, great Generals, faithful Counſellors, and worthy Merchants, who have all ſhone in their different Spheres of Life.

† This Biſhoprick hath, like *Bath* and *Wells*, a double Title, tho' but one Dioceſe, taking in the whole Counties of *Derby* and *Stafford*, and Part of the Counties of *Warwick* and *Salop*, comprehending 557 Pariſhes, whereof 250 are impropriate, and is valued in the King's Books at 559*l.* 18*s.* 2*d. ob. q.* The See was originally founded at *Litchfield*, where have ſat 30 Biſhops and one Archbiſhop; and the Cathedral is dedicated to the Virgin *Mary* and St. *Chad*.

to the Kingdom of *England* by Act of Parliament in the Year 1535, and thereby the Laws and Liberties of *England* were made as natural to the *Welch* * as the *Engliſh*. The other was, he married *Henry* the VIIIth to *Anna Bulleyn* in the Year 1533. This eminent Prelate was buried at *Shrewſbury*.

The King invites the Duke of Bourbon *to his Court.*

King *Henry* about this Time made great Inſtances to have the Duke of *Bourbon* come over to *England*, in order to concert Meaſures with him and his Prime Miniſter in Perſon, reſpecting the future Progreſs of the confederate Army againſt *France*, from which the Duke notwithſtanding excuſed himſelf, by ledging his Preſence was more uſeful abroad, for the better conducting the War. But, to ſhew how much the Duke was attached to his Majeſty of *England*, he was pleaſed to ſend over a Nobleman, his near Kinſman, in his Name, to ſettle what was neceſſary with the *Britiſh* Court; where, upon his Arrival he was very kindly received by his Majeſty, had ſeveral Conferences with Cardinal *Wolſey*; and, after having executed his Commiſſion, returned to the Duke, then in *Provence*.

Accidents befal the King.

The King ſtill continued to divert himſelf with the manly Exerciſe of *Tilting*, which was much in Vogue in thoſe

* *Wales*, *Wallia*, is a Principality on the *Weſt* of *England*, bounded on the Weſt and North by the *Iriſh* Sea; on the Eaſt by *Cheſhire*, *Shropſhire*, *Herefordſhire* and *Monmouthſhire*; and on the South by the River *Severn*. It contains twelve Shires or Counties, *Pembroke*, *Carmarthen*, *Glamorgan*, *Brecknock*, *Radnor*, *Cardigan*, *Montgomery*, *Merioneth*, *Denbigh*, *Flint*, *Carnarvon*, and *Angleſea*. After many, and thoſe moſt bloody, Wars, this Principality was united to the Crown of *England* by *Edward* the Iſt, in 1284, who made *Edward*, his eldeſt Son, Prince of *Wales*, which Title is generally conferred on the Heir apparent of the Crown, and is now enjoyed by *His* ROYAL HIGHNESS *Prince* FREDERICK.

This Country has produced many brave and learned Men, who have highly diſtinguiſhed themſelves in their Country's Cauſe, with which our Hiſtories are replete; and we have now ſome in both Houſes of Parliament, who are not a Whit behind their noble Anceſtors.

Days. But one of them had like, this Year, to have proved fatal to him, according to *Hall*'s Relation of the Combat: "That, on the 10th of *March*, the "King put on a new-invented Armour for Tilting, "and appointed Juſts; the Marquis of *Dorſet* and "another Nobleman were appointed to ſerve him "on Foot. The King came to one End of the "Tilt, and the Duke of *Suffolk* to the other. Then "a Gentleman ſaid to the Duke, *The King is come to "the Tilts: And I ſee him not*, ſaid the Duke, *on my "Faith; for my Head-piece taketh from me my Sight.* "With theſe Words, God knows by what Accident, "the Marquis of *Dorſet* delivered to the King his "Spear, who had then his Head-piece up, and not "faſtened down; ſo that his Face was bare. Then "the Gentleman ſaid to the Duke, *Sir, the King "cometh.* Then the Duke ſet forward and charged "his Spear; and the King likewiſe ſet inadvertently "forwards to meet the Duke: The People, perceiving "the King's Face bare, cried, *Hold! Hold!* The Duke "neither ſaw, nor heard; and whether the King "could remember, whether his Vizard was up or no, "few could tell. Alas! what Sorrow was it to the "People, when they ſaw the Splinters of the Duke's "Spear break on the King's Head-piece! for of a "Surety the Duke ſtruck the King on his Brow, right "under the Defence of the Head-piece, on the Coif- "ſcull or Baſſenet-piece, whereunto the Barbet, for "Power and Defence, is charnelled; to which Coif "or Baſſenet never Armourer taketh Heed, for it is "ever more covered with the Vizard-barbet and Va- "lant-piece; and that Piece is ſo defended, that its "Force is of no Charge; but when the Spear on that "Part lighted, it was great Jeopardy of Death; in- "ſomuch that the Face was bare, for the Duke's "Spear broke all to Shivers, and bear the King's "Vizard or Barbet ſo far back, by the Counter-buff, "that all the King's Head-piece was full of Splinters.

"The

" The Armourers for this Matter were much blamed;
" and was the Lord *Marquis*, for the delivering of
" the Spear when the Face was open: But the King
" ſaid, *That none was to blame but himſelf, for he in-*
" *tended to have ſaved himſelf and his Sight.* The
" Duke immediately unarmed himſelf, and came to
" the King, ſhewing him the Cloſeneſs of his Sight,
" and ſwore he would never run againſt the King
" more: But if the King had been a little hurt, the
" King's Servants would have put the Duke in Jeo-
" pardy. Then the King called his Armourers, and
" put all his Pieces together, and then took his Spear
" and run ſix Courſes very well, by which all Men
" might perceive that he had no Hurt, which was
" great Joy and Comfort to all his Subjects then
" preſent."

The King likewiſe eſcaped another Accident this Year; for, in eagerly following his Hawk, he attempted to leap over a Ditch with a Pole, which breaking, he pitched on his Head in ſome Clay covered with Water, and would have been immediately ſuffocated, had not *Edward Moody*, one of his Footmen, inſtantly leaped in and lifted up his Head: But it does not appear, from any of our Hiſtorians, that this Man met with any particular Reward for ſo ſeaſonable a Service.

Though it was obſerved, that, beſides theſe Accidents, nothing remarkable happened in *England* this Year, ſo as to diſturb its Tranquillity: Yet as ſeveral Things were brought into the Nation, not ſo common before, they occaſioned the following Diſtich.

Turkies, Carps, Hops, Piccarel, and Beer,
Came into England *all in a Year.*

Ferdinand, Arch-duke of *Auſtria*, and Brother to the Emperor, was preſented by his Majeſty with the noble

noble Order of the Garter; and the Lord *Morley*, Sir *William Hoſey*, and Dr. *Lee*, the King's Almoner, were ſent to *Germany* to inveſt him with it; who, after having executed their Commiſſion, returned to *England*, and brought a Letter from the Duke, full of Acknowledgments for the Honour conferred on him.

Affairs of Scotland. 1524. Laſt Winter we left both Armies in their Quarters; but in the Beginning of *May* the Duke of *Albany* returned into *France*, and ſoon after a Truce was concluded between *England* and *Scotland*: Whereupon the Queen Dowager and the Earl of *Arran* adviſed the young King, who was between 10 and 14 Years of Age, to take on himſelf the Reins of Government.

" This Advice, ſays *Rapin*, was very intereſted, " but *James* was too young to perceive it, he fol- " lowed it, and, having ſummoned the States to " meet on the 29th of *July*, he declared to them, " *That the Authority of the Regent was ended, and* " *that for the future all Orders were to be received* " *from himſelf, as* King.

After that the Queen and the Earl of *Arran* governed in the King's Name: But the Earl of *Lenox* and *Argyle*, not approving of this Change, ſent for the Earl of *Angus* from *France*, to ſupport themſelves by his Intereſt, becauſe he was entirely fallen out with the Queen, his Wife. Upon that Lord's Arrival they levied Forces, under Pretence of freeing the King from the Captivity of the Queen and the Earl of *Arran*. Theſe Troops took *Sterling*, and marched towards *Edinburgh*, where the King then was: But the Queen and *Arran*, on their Approach, removed him to the Caſtle; but, as they had not laid in Proviſions ſufficient, they were forced to deliver his Majeſty to the three Lords, who aſſumed the Title of Regents.

Thus the King was put again under Guardians, who agreed to rule in Turns four Months each; and

and the Earl of *Angus* began, who, as he was in the King of *England*'s Intereſt, forthwith ſent Ambaſſadors to treat of the young King's Marriage with the Princeſs *Mary*, according to *Henry*'s own Scheme. To facilitate this Negotiation, the Truce, which expired before the End of this Year, was prolonged to the 26th of *Jan.* 1526.

Affairs of Ireland. 1522, 1523, 1524.

The Year 1522 was no leſs fatal to *Ireland* by the Sword than the Plague, which raged eſpecially in and about *Limerick*, the Mayor whereof died of it, as did the famous *Edward Poynings*. See Vol. I. fol. 145.

The Earl of *Kildare* returned to *Ireland* in *Jan.* 1523, and obtained Leave of the Deputy to invade the County of *Leintz*; and being accompanied by *John Fitzſimon*, Mayor of *Dublin*, and ſome Citizens, he entered the County and burnt a few Villages; but was intercepted by an Ambuſh, loſt a great many of his Followers, and with ſome Difficulty made his Retreat.

Soon after this Jealouſies aroſe between the Earls of *Ormond* and *Kildare*. One *Robert Talbot* of *Belgard*, *Ormond*'s chief Favourite, was going to keep his *Chriſtmas* at *Kilkenny* with the Deputy; but, being met by *James Fitzgerald*, near *Ballymore*, was by him killed, or rather murdered, which ſo enraged the Earl of *Ormond*, that he immediately ſent an Impeachment to *England* againſt *Kildare*.

In 1524 a Commiſſion iſſued to Sir *Ralph Egerton*, Sir *Anthony Fitzherbert*, one of the Juſtices of the Common Pleas, and *James Denton*, Dean of *Litchfield*, to examine that Matter, with Inſtructions, that, if the Earl of *Kildare* cleared himſelf of the Crimes alledged againſt him, they ſhould depoſe *Ormond*, and ſettle *Kildare* Deputy. This Commiſſion and the Inſtructions were procured by the Marquis of *Dorſet*, *Kil-*

Kildare's Father-in-law, and the Succeſs was according to his Deſire; for, after *Fitzherbert* * and the Dean had made a ſlight Enquiry, they diſpoſſeſſed the Earl of *Ormond*, and placed the Earl of *Kildare* in his Stead.

James, Earl of *Deſmond*, a Nobleman of great Power and Eſtate in the Province of *Munſter*, had for ſome time deſigned a Rebellion; and for that Purpoſe by his Agent, *Anthony Doily*, had ſollicited the *French* King for Aſſiſtance, who at firſt made him a Promiſe; but, Affairs between *Henry* and *Francis* taking another Turn, his Deſigns were diſcovered, and his Intention defeated.

The Deputy had Orders thereupon to apprehend *Deſmond*; and accordingly marched with ſome Forces into *Munſter*: But *Deſmond* found Means to make his Eſcape.

Affairs of Italy. 1524. The confederate Army took the Field the beginning of *March* headed by the Conſtable, *Bourbon*; the Count *Lanoy*, Vice-roy of *Naples*; the Duke of *Urbino*, General of the Troops of the Church; *Peter Peſaro*, Proveditor of the *Venetian* Army; and the Marquis of *Peſcara*. After having held ſeveral Councils they concluded, that, as they were ſuperior in Number to the *French*, they ſhould without Delay march towards them, cut off

* Son of *Ralph Fitzherbert*, of *Norbury* in *Derbyſhire*, and educated in *Oxford*, where he chiefly applied himſelf to the Law, in which Study he ſoon grew eminent, was made Serjeant in 1510, and one of the Juſtices of the *Common Pleas* in 1522. He obtained a great Name as well for his ſuperior Skill, as untainted Integrity; and was knighted by King *Henry* the VIIIth merely as a Reward of his Merits. Towards the latter End of his Life he retired from Buſineſs, and, dying about *July*, 1538, was buried in the Pariſh Church where he was born. He had many good Qualities; but was chiefly celebrated for the Law, in which he was the Oracle of his Days, and a Model for after Ages, which have been inſtructed by his uſeful Works now extant, particularly his Grand *Abridgment of the Common Law*, and *Natura Brevium*, reviſed by *William Raſtrel*.

off their Proviſions, and by that Means oblige them to quit their Camp at *Biagraſſa*. Purſuant to theſe Reſolutions they marched, paſſed over a large River, and in their Way took ſome Places.

The Admiral, finding that their Deſign was to hem him in, decamped and poſted himſelf, at ſome Diſtance, in an advantageous Situation.

The Surprize of *Vercelli* by the Confederates, of which they made themſelves Maſters by Treachery, compleated *Bonnivet*'s Confuſion; for by this they cut off his Communication with *Piedmont*, and incloſed him in the *Novareſe*; a Country entirely ruined, and where it would be impoſſible for him to ſubſiſt. Reduced to this Condition, the Admiral had but two Views of being ſaved; the one was a Reinforcement of 6000 *Swiſs*, who were on their *March* on the Side of *Yuree*; the other was that of 6000 *Griſſons*, which were marching from *Bergamo*, with a Deſign to make a Diverſion upon the *Venetian* Territories, and the Country about. But the Vigilance of the confederate Generals broke all his Meaſures.

John de Medicis was ſent by the Vice-roy with 4000 Foot and 300 Horſe to meet the *Griſſons*, and he ſo harraſſed them with his Cavalry that he made them return Home, and ſo prevented their getting to the Places aſſigned for them to act in.

The Admiral, being deprived of this Succour, decamped from *Novara*, and came to *Romagnano*: The *Swiſs* came up the next Morning, to the great Joy of the *French*, who expected they were come to join them: But great was their Surpriſe when they heard the Report, from thoſe the Admiral had ſent to compliment them on their Arrival, That the *Swiſs* were come only to bring thoſe of their Nation, that were left in the *French* Army, back to their own Country; alledging for a Reaſon, that the *French* King had not kept his Word with them; for that he had promiſed they ſhould be eſcorted by 400 Gens d'Arms, which

was not performed; and this Diſappointment made them think, they had been ſent for only to be expoſed as a Prey to the Cavalry of the Confederates; and therefore would go no further, but make the beſt of their Way Home. In this Dilemma the Admiral had nothing to do but to retreat, in the beſt Manner he could, into *France*, and he ſet out accordingly.

It was by the Advice of the Duke of *Bourbon*, (which prevailed contrary to that of the other Generals, who were for letting the Troops reſt) that they purſued the Admiral. The Confederates had their Army ready formed in Order of Battle, when *Bonnivet* was making the Diſpoſitions to paſs the River, over which he had ſent his Infantry, and ſtaid behind with the Rear and all the Gens d'Arms, to ſupport the Effort of the Enemy, who attacked him briſkly. In the firſt Onſet *Bonnivet* was wounded with a Muſket-ſhot in the Arm; and the great Quantity of Blood he loſt obliged him to retire, and be carried to the other Side of the Bridge, leaving the Care of the Rear to the Count *St. Pol*, and the Chevalier *Bayard*.

Theſe gallant Men did all that could be expected from experienced Officers, and repulſed the Enemy ſeveral Times; but *Bayard*, having received a Muſket-ſhot into his *Kidneys*, which broke the *Vertebræ*, could not keep upon his Horſe, but was taken to the Ground; whereupon he ordered himſelf to be ſet up againſt a Tree, with his Face towards the Enemy, ſaying, *That as he never turned his back whilſt he lived, he would not begin now he was dying:* He deſired a General Officer, that ſtood by him, to tell the King, *That he was extremely ſatisfied with dying in his Service, and was only ſorry, that he could ſerve him no longer.* Then he placed the Hilt of his Sword, before his Eyes, inſtead of a Crucifix, and in that Poſture made Supplications to Heaven, for the Pardon of his Sins.

The

The Count *St. Pol*, who was now left by himſelf with the Care of the Retreat, managed ſo dexterouſly, that, how unfortunately ſoever it might ſeem, it was certainly one of the fineſt Actions in War, that had been ſeen in a long Time; for the Retreat was made in very good Order, all the Artillery ſaved with moſt Part of the Baggage, and not many killed. But the Death of the Chevalier *Bayard* gave the utmoſt Concern to the whole Army, for he was beloved and eſteemed both by the *French* and the Enemy. The Marquis of *Peſcara*, upon hearing where the Chevalier ſtood wounded, ran thither, ſpoke very kindly to him; and, perceiving that, if he ſhould be moved out of that Place, he would ſpeedily die, he had a Tent brought to him, and ſent for Surgeons and a Prieſt, as the Chevalier deſired, to whom he confeſſed his Sins, and received Abſolution.

The Conſtable, *Bourbon*, alſo viſited him, expreſſed his Eſteem for him, and the Concern he was under to ſee him in that Condition: But this great Man, maintaining his Character to the laſt, anſwered him with a noble Spirit, "I am not worthy your Concern, my Lord, ſince I die an honeſt Man; but, "for my own Part, I cannot but pity you, when I "ſee you ſerving againſt your Prince, your Country, and your Oath; for you ſhould remember, "that the Ends of all thoſe, who have borne Arms "againſt their Country, were tragical, and their Memory ſhameful." He expired ſoon after in the Preſence of the principal Officers of the confederate Army, ſeveral of whom could not forbear ſhedding Tears.

The Count *St. Pol*, in his Retreat, met the Duke of *Longueville* with 400 Horſe, who, hearing what had happened, returned back with the Count. In ſhort, no ſooner were the *French* retired, but all the *Milaneſe* became entirely in the Enemies Power; for the Caſtle of *Novara* ſurrendered to the Duke

of *Milan*, *Lodi* to the Duke of *Urbino*, and *Alexandria* to the Marquis of *Pescara*.

The Pope, being acquainted with what had passed, used all his Endeavours with the Emperor and the King of *England*, to bring them to a Treaty with the *French* King; representing to them, "That, in "the Condition he saw his Affairs, he would accept "of it, tho' never so disadvantageous." The *Venetians* and the Duke of *Milan* were also of this Mind, but their limited Views did not agree with the Emperor's vast Designs; so that, instead of Peace, it was resolved to push the War into *France* on the Side of *Provence*, and a new Treaty was entered into between the Emperor, the King of *England*, and the Duke of *Bourbon*, wherein it was agreed, "That *Bour-* "*bon* should enter *France* with all the "Emperor's Forces from *Italy*: That the King of "*England* should furnish him with 100,000 Crowns "a Month, from the 1st of *July* to the last Day of "*December*, unless he rather chose to land in *France* "himself with a good Army; in which Case the "Governors of the *Low Countries* should furnish him "with what Artillery was necessary and 4000 Foot: "That, at the same Time, the Emperor with his "*Spanish* Forces should make an Irruption into *Gui-* "*enne*; That *Bourbon* should be restored to all his "Lands, and have the Kingdom of *Arles*: That "*Henry* should be acknowledged King of *France*."

New Treaty between the Emperor and England, *&c.*

The Treaty being signed, *Bourbon* prepared for his Expedition; but at first setting out he was disappointed under the following Pretence, that the *Venetians* had withdrawn their Forces from the *Milanese*, upon the *French* Forces retreating, which gave the Emperor a Colour to keep back Part of the Troops in *Milan*; alledging, that he could not leave that Country defenceless. The Troops were left there under the Command of *Lanoy*: So that here the Emperor, in the first

firſt Inſtance, broke the Treaty, which obliged the *Conſtable* to begin his March much weaker than he expected. However, he entered *Provence* on the 2d of *July*; but his Deſign was not to ſtop there; for he intended, after he had taken the Tower, the Port of *Toulon*, the City of *Aix*, and ſome others, to go directly to *Lyons*, and from thence to *Berry*; imagining the Nobility of his own Country would flock to him, and increaſe his Army; that the People, who were very much oppreſſed with new Impoſitions, would caſt themſelves into his Arms; and that, by eaſing them of their heavy Taxes, he ſhould attach them to his Intereſt, and deprive King *Francis* of the Sinews of War. But the Emperor's Council who aimed at their Maſter's Views, not at *Bourbon*'s, compelled him, in ſpite of his former Project, to beſiege *Marſeilles*. And here Sir *John Ruſſel*, who was in the Duke's Army, in the Month of *Auguſt*, paid him the firſt 100,000 Crowns, according to the Treaty. This Place had a ſtrong Garriſon in it; ſo that, tho' the Duke of *Bourbon* carried on the Siege with the utmoſt Diligence, he was not able in ſix Weeks Time, to make any great Progreſs therein.

In the mean Time King *Francis* had an Opportunity of recruiting his Army, which he did not deſign to have done till the following Spring. Part of theſe new Recruits he ſent, under the Command of *la Paliſſe*, into *Provence*, who ſiezed on *Avignon*, and laughed at the Enemy for neglecting to take the City: And the King uſed ſo much Diligence, that he ſoon followed *la Paliſſe* with his main Army; and, being arrived at *Avignon*, prepared to follow *Bourbon*, in order to engage him, or oblige him to raiſe the Siege, and retire out of *France*. But the very Day (*Sept.* 1.) the King ſet out from *Avignon* with theſe Views, the Conſtable *Bourbon* raiſed the Siege, and retired into *Italy*.

Whilſt

Whilſt *Francis* was at *Avignon*, he received the News of the Death of his Queen, who died at *Blois* the latter End of *July*, and left Iſſue three Sons, *Francis* the Dauphin, *Henry* Duke of *Orleans*, and *Charles* Duke of *Angouleſme*; and two Daughters, *Magdalene*, married afterwards to *James* the Vth King of *Scotland*; and *Margaret*, afterwards Dutcheſs of *Savoy*.

Before we follow the Duke of *Bourbon* and King *Francis* into *Italy*, let us ſee the Proceedings of the *Engliſh* Court, in reſpect to their acting againſt *France*.

Affairs of England *relating to the War.* 1525.

Certainly, as the Emperor had broke his Engagements, and his Army had quitted *France*, *England* might have been well juſtified, had ſhe fallen into other Meaſures; but ſhe ſtill continued firm to the Emperor: For whom *Rapin* now ſeems to become Advocate, that he may the better continue his malicious Reflections on *Wolſey*.

He ſays, "Whilſt the Imperial Army was in *Provence*, the Court of *England* was otherwiſe diſpoſed than before, and ſeemed to intend to follow new Maxims. *Henry* made no Diverſion in *Picardy*, tho' he had paid but one Month of the Subſidy he was to allow the Duke of *Bourbon*. This was ſufficient to create Suſpicion in the Emperor, which was confirmed by the King's unreaſonable Demand of the Money lent him upon his Departure from *England*. *Charles* the Vth could not believe that *Henry* would demand his Money at ſo improper a Time, inſtead of performing his own Engagements, unleſs he ſought an Occaſion to quarrel. His Uneaſineſs continued to encreaſe, upon Advice from his Ambaſſador, that a Perſon (*John Joachim*, a *Genoeſe*) was come from *France* to *London*, having been ſent by the Counteſs of *Angouleſme*, Regent of that Kingdom, who had long and frequent Conferences with Cardinal *Wolſey*. All this added to

"the

" the Cardinal's revengeful Temper, and whom he " had vainly amuſed with Hopes of the Papacy, made " him juſtly apprehend, that the King of *England* was " going to abandon him, and join with his Enemies. " However, in the preſent Situation of Affairs, there " was no other Meaſure to be taken, ſince all depend- " ed upon the Succeſs of the War, which was going " to be renewed in *Italy*, where his Generals were " not a little embarraſſed."

As the Emperor was in the King's Debt, was it not as juſt for that Prince to pay what he owed the King, as for *Henry* to pay this Monthly Subſidy? Or was it unfair in the King to ſtop his Hand in reſpect to paying his Money, when he was fully convinced, that what it was deſigned for was at an End, by *Bourbon*'s Retreat out of *France*? Was the Emperor juſtifiable in giving *Wolſey* ſo many earneſt Promiſes to aſſiſt him in obtaining the Papal Chair, when he never intended it? Would not *Rapin* himſelf, or any one, have thought it a little ſweet, to have been even with a Deceiver? In relation to the Cardinal's treating with the Perſon, ſent here by the Regent of *France*, he, in the Cloſe of one of the Letters he ſent to the King's Ambaſſador at *Rome*, gives the following Charge,

" And, among other Things, ye may well aſſure " the Pope's Holineſs, that whatever ſiniſter Reports " may be ſpread by the *French* or others, of any " Treaties being made on this Side, by reaſon of there " being here one of my Lady the *French* King's Mo- " ther's Servants, or by other Perſon, that may be " ſent hither on the *French* King's Behalf, his Holi- " neſs may truſt, that nothing is meant, or ſhall be " paſſed or concluded here, directly or indirectly, but " by the Emperor's Conſent, and as the Pope's Ho- " lineſs ſhall be made privy."

" And

" And becauſe it was pretended (ſays Dr. *Fiddes*) " that ſuch open Declarations have ſometimes been " made by Princes in the Conduct of their Treaties, " which yet have been repugnant to certain clande- " ſtine Engagements entered into by them, it may " not be improper, in Vindication of the *Engliſh* " Court, as well as of the Cardinal, with reſpect to " the preſent Charge, to give ſuch a ſummary Ac- " count of another Letter written by him to Dr. " *Sampſon*, who was now become one of our Ambaſ- " ſadors with the Emperor, as will put every Thing " that may affect his own, his Maſter's, or the Na- " tion's Honour, entirely out of the Queſtion. The " principal Deſign of the Letter is to complain of an " Abuſe done to the King and himſelf, by *de Pract*, the " Emperor's Ambaſſador in *England*, who had made " a Report to the Emperor, greatly to the Prejudice " of the King and the Cardinal, which was diſcover- " ed by ſome Letters that were intercepted, and wrote " by *de Pract* on that Head. The Cardinal in his " Letter tells *Sampſon*,

" That *de Pract* had done great Injury to the com- " mon Cauſe, and that he ſhould propoſe it to the " Conſideration of the Emperor, Whether his Mini- " ſter durſt write after ſuch a Manner, if he were not " encouraged by ſome Perſons about his Imperial " Majeſty ill affected to the King? which, if true, " would be an Inſtance of the higheſt Ingratitude to " a Prince, who had done the Emperor all the Ho- " nour and Service poſſible." And concludes his Let- ter with ſaying, " That *de Pract* was a very weak " Miniſter, and by no means qualified for the Pro- " vince to which he was appointed: That the King " had long bore with his Defects, and ſtudied to hide " them: However, he hoped the Amity between the " two Powers would ſtill continue, and that the Em- " peror would put more favourable Conſtructions on " his Actions than his Miniſters had."

De

De Praët, in Return, complains of the intercepting his Letters, and urges in his own Defence, as to what might appear by them, "That Ambaſſadors had "a Right to communicate ſuch Advice and Intelli-"gence as ſeemed to them moſt proper; and that "he had not made any evil Report of the King or "the Cardinal." And then he deſcends to mention the Reaſons that had induced him to write ſo fully to his Maſter: *1ſt*, The Reſidence here of *Joachim*, a known Agent from *France*. *2dly*, That of the Truce propoſed at *Rome*, for the Space of eight Months. *3dly*, Certain Difficulties that had been made in reſpect to ſending an Army into *Picardy*, to act againſt *France* this Year. *4thly*, The King's Refuſal to contribute any thing towards the Defence of *Italy*. To which ſeveral Articles the Cardinal anſwered diſtinctly, and in the Order they are propoſed.

Firſt, "That *Joachim* came over as a Merchant; "and that, as ſoon as he diſcovered himſelf to be ſent "by the Lady Regent of *France*, he had made *de* "*Praët* privy thereto, and likewiſe of the Anſwer "given to his Propoſals; at the ſame time praying "him to advertiſe the Emperor and the Lady *Mar-*"*garet* thereof; (*as I would ſo do*, ſays the Cardinal) "and from time to time, ſince that Seaſon, I have "not failed to make the ſaid Ambaſſador privy to all "that hath been done, ſpoken, or communicated with "the ſaid *Joachim*, who was lodged in a Houſe be-"longing to Mr. *Lark* in *Black-fryers*, to the Intent "I would have an Eye upon him, being ſent by an "Enemy, that he ſhould not ſend or receive any Let-"ters or Meſſages but by my Knowledge; and, when "the King removed from *Bridewell*, he was likewiſe "removed from that Lodging."

Secondly, "That the King declared, when the Arch-"biſhop of *Capua* propoſed a *Truce*; *he would not a-*"*gree, unleſs the Emperor was contented with the ſame.*"

Thirdly, "That in case a Truce was made by Consent of all Parties, Peace might be concluded at *Rome*, and the Pope might have the Honour as the Author and Conductor thereof; but as it was come to nothing, it was out of the Question."

Fourthly, "That the King had not sent an Army Abroad this Year, because he never designed to send any Forces Abroad at that Time of the Year, but upon two previous Conditions, neither of which had been performed by the Emperor; besides, the King understood his Imperial Majesty had not advanced the Contributions designed for the Army in *Provence*."

As to *de Praet*'s Charge concerning the King's Refusal to contribute any Thing towards the Defence of *Italy*, the Cardinal, in Vindication of his Majesty's Honour, answered, "That the King his Master was under no Engagement by Treaty, or Promise to that End; or, if he had, there were Reasons of Suspicion, from private Practices between the *French* King and the Vice-roy of *Naples*, which justly might require Caution in performing it. However, that the King had not been wanting to the Emperor's Assistance in those Parts, as appeared particularly from the Commission wherewith *Russel* and *Cassal* were charged, having express Orders, if the Imperial Troops should be in Distress for want of Money, to advance them 50,000 Crowns by way of Loan: And, rather than any Danger, by Default of Payment should ensue, he would do it by way of free Contribution." And, *Wolsey*, in the Conclusion, charges and reproaches *de Praet*, not only with a sinister Interpretation, concerning the Conduct of our Court, but with a direct and notorious Falshood. From these Answers *Fiddes* insists, "That it appears plain, that the King, instead of uniting or intending to unite with the Emperor's Enemies, was contributing

all

" all in his Power to ſupport the Confederacy; and,
" as a further Proof, was at this very Time labouring
" to keep the *Venetians* firm to the Emperor, and
" even to prevail on them to enter into a new Alli-
" ance againſt *France*, in order to fruſtrate the *French*
" King's Deſigns, which he had formed, of reducing
" *Milan* and *Naples* under his Obedience."

To confirm what hath been before urged, and the Purity of the King's Intentions, in reſpect to adhering to his Alliance with the Emperor, charged his Ambaſſador at *Rome* to declare to his Holineſs, as the Cardinal had before done, in a Letter addreſſed to the Emperor, "That his Majeſty would never con-
" clude any Thing with the *French* King, without the
" Emperor's Knowledge."

The Cardinal was not ill treated and miſrepreſented by the Emperor's Ambaſſador only, for it alſo appears, that the Lady *Margaret*, and a certain Lord of her Court, named *Hogſtrace*, had ſpoken ſome Words highly reflecting on him; which the Lady being informed of, ſhe deſired the very Words might be repeated. This her Requeſt was by Dr. *Knight* communicated to the Cardinal, who directed that Miniſter to make a Reply to the following Effect:

" That he had no Inclination to renew and repeat
" Things of Diſpleaſure, nor to hear a Repetition of
" what had been accidentally ſpoken without any
" formed Deſign to his Diſadvantage. But on what
" Account, or with what View ſoever, the Words
" were repeated, the Lady *Margaret* and that Lord
" had made Judgment of his Conduct, for which he
" had given no juſt Occaſion; and that, whatever had
" been ſaid in a Paſſion or otherwiſe, her Virtue
" and Wiſdom were ſo well known to the King and
" to himſelf, that there could be no want of due Re-
" gard for his Majeſty, nor of good Will towards
" himſelf; and that he would therefore no more re-
" flect on what had paſſed, but deſired that the Lady

" might be aſſured, ſhe would always find the King " a firm, conſtant, and perfect Friend, and himſelf a faithful and loving Son, ambitious of doing her Honour and Service; and that, inſtead of recollecting Words, it would be expedient to attend " Things of real Conſequence to the common Cauſe, " wherein he ſhould continue to exert himſelf with " that Ardour and Sedulity, which he had hitherto " ſhewn on all Occaſions."

No ſooner was this Repreſentation delivered to the Lady *Margaret*, but all further Enquiry, in relation to it, entirely ceaſed.

How far our Court was requited for aſſiſting the Emperor, and the Return ſhe met with from that Prince, the Sequel will ſhew. But as to the Cardinal, ſuch was his extream Diligence and Attention to the Affairs of State, both at Home and Abroad, that his Negotiations were not confined to the Courts of *Rome*, *Germany*, *Venice*, and the *Low Countries*, but were extended to all the Courts of *Europe*, ſo far as the Intereſt of his Maſter was concerned, (and tho' he was ſo glorious an Encourager of Learning and learned Men) yet he neglected not his judicial Offices.

Affairs of Italy. 1524.

Francis could not be contented with driving his Enemies out of *France*, but having a fine Army, and once conquered *Milan*, by which he gained a great deal of Glory, and ſeeing the bad Condition of the Enemy's Troops, he was inſpired with Hopes of re-conquering that Dutchy; therefore purpoſed to croſs the *Alps* again.

But he was adviſed to the contrary by the Marſhals *Chabannes*, *Foix*, and *la Tremoville*, who conſidered the Winter Seaſon was near at hand, the Middle of *October* being paſt, and that it might in the mean time expoſe *France* as well to the Incurſions of the *Engliſh*, the *Flemings*, and the *Spaniards*, as to the concealed Deſigns of *Bourbon*.

On

On the other Side Admiral *Bonnivet* (who, tho' he had met with ſuch ill Succeſs in *Italy*, was now again taken into Favour) M. *Chabot*, and ſome others ſtrongly adviſed the Expedition, which, being quite agreeable to the King's Inclination, made him readily comply with the latter; for it has been obſerved, that the leaſt Succeſs carried *Francis* much further than Prudence could warrant.

Many thought the King's being in Mourning for his Queen was an ill Omen; but *Francis* ſoon put an End to their Superſtition, by declaring openly, that whoever ſpoke againſt the Expedition would incur his Diſpleaſure.

Bourbon had taken a great Compaſs to retire into *Italy*, which put the King upon endeavouring to reach *Milan* before him, who, having Notice of the King's Intention, made incredible Speed to get there firſt; judging, that thereon would depend the Preſervation of the Dutchy.

The King arrived at *Vercelli* at the ſame Time the Enemy got to *Albe*, from whence in two Days they reached *Parma*, having marched 36 Miles in one Day. They firſt had reſolved to keep *Milan*; but, upon the Approach of the *French* Van-guard they abandoned that City, and retired towards *Loda*. The King's old Commanders declared their Opinion, not to deſiſt from the Purſuit, ſince the Enemy were put to their laſt Shifts, ſhewing themſelves half conquered, by throwing away their Arms as they marched; that if theſe were diſperſed, the *Imperialiſts* had not one Place left, except *Pavia*, *Cremona*, and the Caſtle of *Milan*, which wanting Proviſions would in all Probability ſurrender in a ſhort Time. *Bonnivet* adviſed the contrary, and, unfortunately for the King, his Advice was taken, for they entered the City of *Milan*, where *la Trimoville* was left with 6000 Men, with Directions to beſiege the Caſtle.

If

If *Francis*, inſtead of going to *Milan*, had purſued the *Imperialiſts*, he would infallibly have diſperſed them; but, neglecting to do this, he gave the *Germans* Time to breathe; and thus one wrong Step ſucceeded another: For the King marched to *Pavia*, and on the 27th of *Oct.* laid Siege to that Place.

Henry the VIIIth, upon *Francis*'s marching into *Italy*, and the Miſcarriage of the Duke of *Bourbon*'s Project in *France*, expreſſed himſelf ſomewhat diſſatisfied that the Duke had not come to *England*, to concert Meaſures with him in Perſon, as he had deſired.

Wolſey having heard, by freſh Intelligence, that the Pope was inclinable to ſide with the *French*, which muſt neceſſarily foment the War rather than cauſe it to ceaſe, wrote a Letter to the Biſhop of *Bath*, the King's Ambaſſador at *Rome*, wherein he ſtates ſeveral Matters relating to the Civil as well as the Religious Affairs, and gives us a great Light into the Tranſactions of that Time; ſhewing, that, notwithſtanding the Cardinal's Attachment to the Court of *Rome*, he would not ſacrifice to his Love for her, either the Honour of his Maſter, or the Intereſt of his Country.

He begins with taking notice, "That the *French* "King was then with his Army before *Pavia*; and, "in order to oblige the Vice-roy of *Naples* to aban- "don *Milan*, had formed a Deſign of ſending an "Army to invade that Kingdom:" And proceeds with ſaying, "That he heard the Pope and *France* "were carrying on a private Treaty; that his Ho- "lineſs had not yet made good the Aſſurances he "had given to the King; and therefore now was "the Time to be plain with him, who had had an Op- "portunity, above any of his Predeceſſors, for ſeve- "ral Years, of doing eminent Service to the Apoſto- "lick See, and to Religion in general." Then he "deſires with all Reverence, Steadineſs and Humility,

"That

" That what he requeſts to be repreſented to his " Holineſs, may be taken as an Inſtance of his pious " and dutiful Regard to the Pope." However, he tells him to enquire, " Whether there was any real " Grounds for the Report of the Pope's being in- " clined to the *French* Party?" And was further to aſſure his Holineſs, " That the Deſign of the King " in all his Wars is to procure the publick Peace of " *Chriſtendom*; that *Chriſtian* Princes may unite and " employ their Arms againſt the *Infidels*;" to repre- preſent, " How zealous the King had been againſt " *Luther*, both with his Sword and Pen; that, not- " withſtanding the Progreſs of the *Turkiſh* Arms, (by " taking of *Rhodes*) and of *Lutheraniſm* in *Germany*, " by an Union of *Chriſtian* Princes, in Defence of " their holy Religion, they may be both ſuppreſſed." Yet he acknowledges, " That the *Lutheran* Sect does " not only ſpread through all *Germany*, but the Seeds " of it begin to ſprout up in *France*, *Spain*, *Flanders*, " *Denmark*, *Scotland*, and in many Parts of *England*; " and that the only Remedy is to be expected from " the true Zeal, which his Holineſs, the Head of " the Church, ſhall ſhew, in reforming Diſorders, and " taking ſuch Meaſures as may reſtore Diſcipline, and " cauſe Obedience to the Laws of CHRIST to be " obſerved. How incredible is it, (ſays he) that his " Holineſs, whom God hath endowed with ſo great " Wiſdom and Virtue, and with the Qualities pro- " per for his high Dignity, ſhould omit any Thing " requiſite for theſe pious and excellent Ends. But " yet, if poſſibly he ſhould be any way inclinable to " favour the *French* King's Pretenſions to *Naples* and " *Milan*, he would be the principal Author of God's " Diſpleaſure, of the future Diſturbances in *Chriſten-* " *dom*, of his own Diſhonour, and of infinite Evils " both in the preſent and ſucceeding Ages." And then the Cardinal takes this ingenuous Freedom, which we ſhall ſet down in his own Words. " And

" herein

" herein to say the very Truth, and to acquit my-
" self of my Duty and most tender Zeal towards
" his Holiness, I cannot see how it may stand with the
" Pleasure of Almighty God, that the Head of the
" Church should thus involve and mix themselves
" and the State, by a Conjunction unto temporal
" Princes in the Wars; but that, as I verily suppose,
" since the Leagues offensive, or defensive, or both,
" have been used to be made in the Name of the
" Pope, God hath stricken and sent Afflictions to
" the Holy Church, and generally to the State of
" *Christendom* for the same: And Contracts and
" Contentions used for advancing particular Fami-
" lies or Countries to the Papal Dignity; but that
" all which one Pope had gone about in such Af-
" fairs, with much Labour, Cost, and Difficulty,
" hath, either in his own Time, or soon after, dis-
" appointed, and always was of Detriment to the
" See Apostolick."

Then the Cardinal excuses himself for taking the Freedom of notifying his Foresight of the impending Dangers to the Holy See; and, if we may judge from what happened afterwards to the Pope, his Perceptions were not ill-grounded. He next proposes three Expedients.

First, " To bring the *French* King to Battle before
" he should receive any Reinforcements."

" *Secondly*, " If the Vice-roy, by reason of any
" Incident unknown at such a Distance to the King,
" should determine to follow the Duke of *Albany*,
" who was marching to *Naples*, that then it would
" be advisable to have *Cremona*, or other Places of
" Importance fortified; for that the Pope, observ-
" ing such wise Precautions taken by the *Imperialists*,
" would decline all Conventions with the *French*."

Thirdly, " If neither of these Ways were thought
" practicable, or should not be attended with desired
" Success, then to propose an Expedient, formerly of-

" fered

" fered on the Behalf of the Pope to the Vice-roy " of *Naples*, which was, That ſo much of the *Mi-* " *laneſe* as remained in the Emperor's Poſſeſſion " ſhould, for a limited Time, be put into the Pope's " Hands; during which Interval a Treaty of Peace " might be ſet on Foot, provided the *French* King " would agree to do the like, as to ſuch Places he " had ſeized in *Milan:* By which Means *Naples* might " be preſerved, a Peace enſue, and the *French* King " return Home with Honour."

Then obſerves, " That our Ambaſſador at *Venice* " was forwarding the Diſpoſitions they were making " to join the Imperial Army; that *Gregory Caſſal* was " with the Vice-roy of *Naples*, perſuading him to " comply with the above Overtures, and that Sir *John* " *Ruſſel*, who was entruſted with the King's Money, " was directed to repair to the Duke of *Bourbon:*"

And concludes, " That, if the Pope's Holineſs loves " GOD, himſelf, and *Chriſtendom*, now is the Time, " ſince the three Things be ſo feaſible, to ſhew the " ſame, unleſs there be other good Remedy, and " the Matter in other Train than is here known: But " if any Inconveniency ſhould ariſe, thro' neglecting " of what he has before-mentioned, the Blame muſt " lie at the Door of thoſe who are Authors of it: " And in the mean time, to ſhew the King's Zeal " for advancing the common Cauſe, though the Em- " peror had lately ſent 20,000 Ducats into *Italy*; " yet, leſt any Accident ſhould prevent the Payment " of it in due Time, or the Want of a ſmall Sum " might be the Means of fruſtrating the Deſign, he " empowers the Ambaſſador to advance a Sum of " Money for the Service of the Army, before the " Battle he had ſpoken of: But this Truſt he is to " manage with great Diſcretion."

It is to be obſerved, that there are ſeveral Paſſages in this Letter, which may ſerve to clear up ſeveral Matters of Moment relating to the Hiſtory of that Time, and

wherein the Reputation of the Cardinal has very much, but unjuſtly, ſuffered. In the firſt Place it evidently appears, that Mr. *Cavendiſh* had been much impoſed on, which occaſioned his ſuggeſting, * That it was by his Maſter's Means Payment of the Money, neceſſary to ſupport the Army in *Italy* had not only been omitted; but that, ſome Time before the Battle of *Pavia*, he had actually cauſed a ſeparate Peace to be made with the *French* King. But the Cardinal's Letter juſt mentioned was written before that Battle, as appears from ſeveral Circumſtances in it, when no ſuch Treaty could be ſubſiſting; nor was there the leaſt Appearance of his deſigning any Treaty with *France*; for he ſpeaks of the *French* King as of a common Enemy to the Peace of *Chriſtendom*. There was indeed a ſeaſonable Caution to Sir *John Ruſſel*, *not to part with the Money he was entruſted with, without good Advice*; but then this Limitation proceeded not out of any Ill-will to the Emperor, but from a prudential Care, that the Money ſhould not be improperly applied. How *Cavendiſh* came to propagate a Report ſo injurious to the Honour and Memory of his Maſter without any Grounds or probable Reaſons, nay, contrary to the ſtrongeſt Circumſtances, is not eaſy to be determined: But as we have, in our Account of the Battle of *Pavia*, taken notice of this Miſtake of *Cavendiſh*'s, we ſhall not here make any further Reflections on it.

His Holineſs, notwithſtanding all the above Repreſentation, acted agreeable to the wavering Temper of his Predeceſſors; for, before this Letter arrived, the *French* had made a conſiderable Progreſs in *Italy*, as we have before related. The firſt Thing the Pope did was to ſend Nuncio's to both the Armies, under a Pretence of prevailing on them to agree to a Truce: But

* See fol. 4, col. 2; and fol. 8, col. 1, of *Cavendiſh*'s Hiſtory foregoing.

But, not ſucceeding in this Project, he totally diſregarded all Advices to the contrary, and clapt up a Peace with the King of *France*; and very zealouſly adviſes that Monarch, to attempt the Conqueſt of *Naples*; and, the more to encourage him therein, promiſes him free Paſſage for his Troops through his Territories.

Upon the Concluſion of this Treaty, *Francis* thought himſelf ſo certain of *Milan*, that he detached 8000 Men from his Army, under the Command of the Duke of *Albany*, towards *Naples*: But though the Pope previouſly agreed to their Paſſage through the *Eccleſiaſtical* Territories, yet he pretended, for ſome Time, to oppoſe their March, to make *Charles* the Vth believe it was againſt his Will; and, when the *French* were in the Middle of his Dominions, he publiſhed his Agreement with *Francis*, as if newly made, Notice of which he ſent to the Emperor, excuſing himſelf on Account of the Neceſſity he was under.

This the Emperor extreamly reſented, and ſaid, "It was ſolely at the Inſtance of *Leo* the Xth that "he had undertaken the Defence of *Italy*: That "*Clement* himſelf had preſſed *Adrian* the VIth, his "Predeceſſor, to ſign the League; and now, he was "become Pope, forſook him in his greateſt Need, "leaving him alone to proſecute a War kindled by "himſelf: That, however, he hoped to come off with "Honour, to the Confuſion of thoſe who ſo baſely "deſerted him." The Event ſhewed, notwithſtanding, that the Pope had done him ſignal Service, in perſuading *Francis* to carry the War into *Naples*, ſince he thereby cauſed him to divide his Forces; but its uncertain whether the Pope had any ſuch Intention.

There is great Likelihood, though the *Italians* deny it, that it was at the Sollicitations of the Pope, that *Francis* ſent theſe Forces for *Naples*; not that

his Holineſs wanted *Francis* to hold that Kingdom and the *Milaneſe* together, but becauſe he hoped to have drawn ſome mighty Advantages to himſelf, by the Help of the *French* Forces: And it is likely the King fancied, that *Lanoy*, the Vice-roy, would have quitted all other Intereſts to ſecure *Naples*; but *Lanoy* was in no fear, that ſo ſmall an Army could take a Kingdom, where there were ſo many ſtrong Places; ſo that he ſoon gave over all Apprehenſions of Danger on that ſide, and became wholly Intent on preſerving the *Milaneſe* againſt the *French*.

The next wrong Step, that King *Francis* took, was that of ſending 8000 more from his Army to *Savonna*, under the Command of the Marquis of *Saluzza*, to act againſt *Genoa*. Theſe Detachments, amounting in the whole to 16,000 Men, ſo greatly weakned the *French* Army, that the *Imperialiſts* were now no longer afraid to appear in the Field, in order to lengthen out the Siege of *Pavia*, till the Arrival of the *German* Succours, which the Conſtable of *Bourbon* in Perſon was gone to haſten.

At the End of two Months, the Siege of *Pavia* was no more advanced than the firſt Day; for the Garriſon became ſtronger, inſtead of weaker, and the Attacks on the *French* Part were ſo feeble and languid, that there was often want of Powder, and always want of Order; yet the King could not ſee, till it was too late, that his Power weakened every Day, whilſt that of his Enemies in Proportion grew ſtronger; which brings us to the Concluſion of the Month of *December*, 1524.

Affairs of England. *A grand Council held.* 1525.

AT the Opening of this Year his Majeſty ſignified his Pleaſure of paſſing into *France* at the Head of his Army, and for that Purpoſe Preparations were ſet on Foot; but, as the Treaſury was much exhauſted,

ed, a *Grand Council* * was called, at which the *Judges* aſſiſted, to conſider of *Ways and Means* for ſupplying the neceſſary Exigences of the State, wherein it was agreed to raiſe Money by way of Loan, which was lawful, according to the Opinion of the Judges, who were particularly conſulted on that Head; the Conducting of which was committed to the Care of *Wolſey*: For, as an Author obſerved, the Court was very willing to leave it to his ſole Management, not deſiring to interpoſe in an Affair, which ſeldom renders thoſe who are concerned in it acceptable to the People. This ſoon appeared from the general Diſguſt entertained againſt the Cardinal, becauſe, as it was pretended, Commiſſions were iſſued by his Advice; † whereby a ſixth Part of the Goods of the Lay-

* The *Privy Council* is a moſt noble, honourable and reverend Aſſembly of the King, and ſuch Members as his Majeſty thinks qualified to be admitted thereto, who are made (without any Patent, Grant, or other formal Appointment) only by Summons, and taking an Oath. They meet in the King's Court, or Palace, to conſult about Matters of State; by their Advice his Majeſty has Power to publiſh Proclamations, which are to be obſerved as tho' they were made by Act of Parliament, under certain Reſtrictions. See *Coke*, Part IV. p. 53. *Wood's Inſt.* p. 457.

The Council is governed by a Lord Preſident, who is the 4th great Officer of the State; and, by the Statute of 24 *Hen.* VIII. is to attend the King's Royal Perſon, to manage the Debates in Council, to preſent Matters from the King at the Council-table, and to report to his Majeſty the Reſolutions taken thereupon. The preſent Preſident of the Council is the Right Honourable *William* Earl of *Harington*.

† Whatever Part he might have acted in the Council we do not undertake to ſay; but 'tis evident it was an *Act of Council*, to which the Judges too acceded; therefore cannot be imputed to him ſolely: Nor does his taking the Management of it, purſuant to the Direction of the Council, make at all againſt him; but is rather an Inſtance of his Courage and Frankneſs, in that he did not meanly put others upon doing that which himſelf was aſhamed of. *Well but*, may the Adverſaries to his Memory ſay, *where was his Integrity to his Country? Where his mighty Wiſdom and Foreſight, if he could not perceive this to be, if not altogether an* Oppreſſion, *a very wide Step towards it?* As to the firſt, we

Laymen, and a fourth of the Clergy's, was to be levied throughout the Kingdom.

In the Month of *March* Commiſſions were ſent into the different Counties, and the Cardinal was conſtituted the King's chief Commiſſioner for *London*, who thereupon ſent for Sir *William Baily*, Knt. Lord Mayor, the Aldermen, and the Chief of the Common Council, to attend him; who attended accordingly, to whom he made a Speech to the following Effect:

" My Lord Mayor, and the reſt of the King's be-
" loved Friends and Subjects of the City of *London*,
" I muſt declare to you, that his Majeſty, contrary
" to his Mind and Will, is compelled to continue
" the War againſt *France*, becauſe the *French* King
" has broken the ſolemn Treaties concluded between
" the two Nations, with-holding the King's Siſter's
" Dower, and the different Sums of Money ſtipulated
" to be paid to *England*; ſuffering the Duke of *Al-*
" *bany* to go into *Scotland* to raiſe the King Enemies
" on that Side; and retaining his Majeſty's Inheritance
" in *France*: And as the Armies, the King had ſent
" into *France*, had not been able to obtain what might
" reaſonably have been expected, the King has com-
manded

we ſay, he is not chargeable, if he acted agreeable to his own and the Judgment of others, who ought to have known the Conſtitution. As to the ſecond, granting he was over-byaſſ'd by the repeated Importunities of his Maſter, (which we cannot but think was the Caſe, notwithſtanding the King's Diſclamation and ſeeming Ignorance afterwards) 'tis plain he uſed a great deal of Clemency in the Exerciſe of his Commiſſion, and no ways urged it to the Detriment of the People; which certainly he had Power enough to have done, had he had alſo the Will. And ſure no one, that has given himſelf Time to reflect on *Henry*'s robuſt Temper and warm Spirit, can ſo much as imagine, that he would ſo calmly have put up ſuch a Stroak at the Liberty of the People, in any Miniſter, had he not himſelf been privy to it; which is confirmed by his Anſwer to *Anna Bulleyn*, on her bitterly inveighing againſt the Cardinal on Accouut of the *Loan*, —*Well, well*, quoth the King, *for that Matter there was no Blame in him; for I know that Matter better than you or any elſe.* See *Cavend.* Hiſt. in our 4th Vol. fol. 22.

" manded me to call you, his loving Subjects, before " me, to take your Advice, Whether you think it con- " venient that the King ſhould paſs with an Army, " or not, into *France?* For his Majeſty is determin- " ed to do nothing without the Advice of his Sub- " jects. Upon this, many of the Company anſwered, " *Yea! Yea!*"

The Cardinal then proceeded, " If the King " goeth, he muſt appear like a Prince, which can- " not be done without your Aids: And, to ſhew " you the Zeal of the Clergy, the Archbiſhop of " *Canterbury* and myſelf, as Primates of the Realm, " have given of our Lands appertaining to the Church " a third Part, and the Temporal Lords have given " a ſixth Part; and have offered to attend his Ma- " jeſty likewiſe in their proper Perſons. Now, if " theſe, who adventure their Lives ſo readily, give a " ſixth Part, ſurely thoſe who ſtay at Home will not " grudge to give a ſixth Part out of fifty Pounds; " and thoſe who have more, the like Sum; and from " twenty to fifty, two Shillings and eight Pence, and " under twenty Pounds, one Shilling in the Pound, " according to the laſt Valuation of your Effects." To this Sir *John Bruge*, * one of the Aldermen, who had been Lord Mayor of *London*, replied, " My " Lord,

* Sir *John* married *Agnes*, Daughter of *William Ayloffe*, Eſq; (whoſe Family was of *Saxon* Extraction, and he himſelf a Gentleman of great Fame and large Poſſeſſions in *Eſſex* and *Suffolk* in the Time of *Edward* the VIth) by whom he had *Anthony Bruges*, from whom the Barons of *Chandos* are deſcended; and *Wenifred Bruges*, married to Sir *Richard Sackville*, of *Buckhouſe*, and Father of Sir *Thomas Sackville*, Baron of *Buckhouſe*, and Earl of *Dorſet*; whoſe Deſcendent is his Grace the preſent Duke of *Dorſet*, Lord Steward of his Majeſty's Houſhold.

From *William Ayloffe*, Eſq; was deſcended Sir *William Ayloffe*, Knight, who was created a Baronet, by King *James* the Iſt, in 1612; and from this Baronet Sir *Joſeph Ayloffe*, the preſent Baronet, is deſcended, who married *Margaret*, Daughter and ſole Heireſs of—*Railton*, of *Carliſle* in the County of *Cumberland*, Eſq; and has Iſſue one Son, named *Joſeph*. See the *Engliſh* Baronetage.

" Lord, ſince that Valuation many have failed by " Loſſes at Sea and bad Debts; ſo that Valua- " tion cannot be had." To this the Cardinal ſaid, " He hoped that would not impede the Buſineſs " in hand, and, he would ſpeak to the King to " be good to them; and that, if his Majeſty did " not go beyond Sea, he would ſee that the Mo- " ney they paid ſhould be re-delivered: However, " let the Money be gathered, and lay it where you " will, and, if the King need it not, you are at " Liberty to take it back."

Upon this the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council took their Leave of the Cardinal, and returned to the City, where a Common-Council was immediately held, but nothing was reſolved upon.

In the mean time Commiſſioners were ſent to the Clergy, in the different Counties, and the Clergy called before them at fixed Places, where a fourth Part of their Revenues and Moveables were demanded. To this the *Prieſts* returned for Anſwer, " That " they would pay nothing, except it was granted by " the Convocation;" and ſeveral of them did not ſtick to ſay, " That the Cardinal and all the Doers " thereof were Enemies to the King and Common- " wealth:" Nay, they even complained of it in their Pulpits; ſo that, when the Commiſſioners ſat in the different Counties to raiſe the Loan from the Commonalty, they found that they were as refractory as the Clergy. And *Grafton* tells us, " The Poor curſ- " ed, the Rich repugned, the light Wits railed, and " all curſed the Cardinal and his Adherents, as the " Subverters of the Laws and Liberties of *England*." And ſaid, " That if Men ſhould give their Goods by " a Commiſſion, then were it worſe than the Taxes " in *France*, and ſo *England* ſhould be bond and not " free."

The People of *Reading* in *Berkſhire* refuſed to pay what was demanded. However, to ſhew their Affection

fection to the King, they offered twenty Pence in the Pound, which was communicated to the Cardinal; but the Offer was rejected, and the Lord *Liſle*, the Commiſſioner, was ordered to abide by his firſt Commiſſion, as were the other Commiſſioners throughout *England*.

There were at this Time ſeveral Meetings in the City of *London*, to debate on the Affair of raiſing the Loan; to facilitate which the Cardinal ſent Dr. *Tunes*, his Chaplain, to the Chapter-houſe at *St. Paul*'s, where he met ſeveral of the *Londoners*, and privately aſſured them, "That, whatſoever each Man valued his Eſtate "at, no Man ſhould know it but the King and him-"ſelf." This Diſcourſe had ſo great an Effect at firſt, that ſeveral valued their Eſtates at really more than what they were worth: But when the Collectors came to receive, thoſe Perſons, upon a ſecond Thought, refuſed to pay. Letters alſo came from divers Parts of the Country filled with the ill Succeſs the Commiſſioners had met with, the Murmurings of the People, and intimated, that nothing leſs than a general Rebellion was expected. This coming to the King's Ear, a Council was held, wherein the King declared, *That he did not know of the Demand that occaſioned the Grumbling among his People*; and expreſſed himſelf in very high Terms in relation to the *Exaction*.

His Majeſty thus diſclaiming the *Loan*, every one of the Council ſought to free himſelf from having had any hand in it; therefore Cardinal *Wolſey* thought it neceſſary, as he was generally charged to be the Author of this Exaction, to ſpeak in his own Vindication: "And proteſted, as a faithful Servant, he had "no further End in it than the Profit of his Lord "the King; that not only the Judges had been "adviſed with in Council, (which all acknowledg-"ed) but alſo the Learned in the Laws, both Di-"vine and Human, had been conſulted, whoſe

" Opinion it was, *That the King might lawfully take* " *the ſame Courſe that King* Pharaoh *did, who, by the* " *Miniſtry of* Joſeph, *ſequeſtered a certain Portion of* " *every Man's private Eſtate for the publick Good.*" However, the King, at the Breaking-up of the Council, was pleaſed to order Letters to be ſent to the Lord Mayor of the City of *London*, and to other Parts of the Realm, in which his Majeſty was pleaſed graciouſly to ſignify, " That he would demand no certain " Sum of any of his loving Subjects, but would accept " of what they freely gave of their own good Mind, " towards ſupporting the War againſt *France*."*

It

* *Shakeſpear*, in his *Henry* the VIIIth, ſpeaks of this Loan, and the Uneaſineſs it gave the Nation in the following Scene.

Firſt he repreſents the King, with the Cardinal and other Nobles attending him, ſitting in Council. Shortly after a Noiſe is heard, with a Cry of, Room for the Queen!

Enter the Queen, uſher'd by the Dukes of Norfolk *and* Suffolk; *ſhe kneels; the King riſeth from his State, takes her up, kiſſes, and placeth her by him.*

Queen. Nay, we muſt longer kneel; I am a Suitor.
King. Ariſe, and take Place by us, half your Suit
Never name to us; you have half our Pow'r:
The other Moiety e're you aſk is given.
Repeat your Will, and take it.
Queen. Thank your Majeſty.
That you wou'd love yourſelf, and in that Love
Not unconſider'd leave your Honour, nor
The Dignity of your Office, is the Point
Of my Petition.
King. Lady mine, proceed.
Queen. I am ſollicited, not by a few,
And thoſe of true Condition, that your Subjects
Are in great Grievance. There have been Commiſſions
Sent down among 'em, which have flaw'd the Heart
Of all their Loyalties; wherein although [*To* Wolſey.
(My good Lord Cardinal) they vent Reproaches
Moſt bitterly on you, as Putter-on
Of theſe Exactions; yet the King our Maſter
(Whoſe Honour Heav'n ſhield from Soil) eſcapes not
Language unmannerly; yea, ſuch which breaks

The

It was remarked by ſome, who were well acquainted with the Diſpoſitions of Princes, that the King did not, on this Occaſion, pay ſuch ſingular Reſpect and Favour to the Cardinal as he was wont to do, but left him to get clear of the Reflections and Reproaches caſt on him as well as he could; nay, he ſeemed rather, by a ſide Glance, to blame the Cardinal; which, being taken notice of, gave the firſt Handle for his Enemies to be plotting againſt him, in order to find ſome Way or other to diſpoſſeſs him of the King's Favour.

As ſoon as the King's Letters were diſpatched to the

The Sides of Loyalty, and almoſt appears
In loud Rebellion.
Nor. Not almoſt appears,
It doth appear; for upon theſe Taxations
The Clothiers all, not able to maintain
The Many to them 'longing, have put off
The Spinſters, Carders, Fullers, Weavers, who
Unfit for other Life, compell'd by Hunger
And lack of other Means, in deſp'rate Manner
Daring th'Event to th'Teeth, are all in Uproar,
And Danger ſerves among them.
King. Taxation?
Wherein? and what Taxation? My Lord Cardinal,
You that are blam'd for it alike with us,
Know you of this Taxation?
Wol. Pleaſe you, Sir,
I know but of a ſingle Part in ought
Pertains to th' State, and front but in that File
Where others tell Steps with me.
Queen. No, my Lord,
You know no more than others; but you frame
Things that are known alike, which are not wholſome
To thoſe which would not know them, and yet muſt
Perforce be their Acquaintance. Theſe Exactions
(Whereof my Sov'reign would have note) they are
Moſt peſtilent to th'Hearing; and to bear 'em,
The Back is ſacrifice to th' Load: They ſay
They are deviſ'd by you, or elſe you ſuffer
Too hard an Exclamation.
King. Still Exaction!
The Nature of it, in what Kind let's know
Is this Exaction!

the different Shires in *England*, on the 26th of *April*, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and ſeveral of the Common-Council of the City of *London*, attended the Cardinal, purſuant to a Summons they had received for that Purpoſe, when the Cardinal acquainted them, "That he had become Suitor to his Majeſty "to remit the Demand made on the City;" and at the ſame time delivered to the Lord Mayor the King's Letter before directed.

Upon receiving this Letter, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, with their Fellow-Citizens, returned into the City, and on the 27th a Common-Council was called,

Queen. I am much too ven'trous
In tempting of your Patience, but am bolden'd
Under your promis'd Pardon. The Subjects Grief
Comes through Commiſſions, which compel from each
The ſixth Part of his Subſtance, to be levy'd
Without Delay; and the Pretence for this
Is nam'd your Wars in *France*. This makes bold Mouths,
Tongues ſplit their Duties out, and cold Hearts freeze
Allegiance in them: All their Curſes now
Live where their Pray'rs did: And it's come to paſs,
That tractable Obedience is a Slave
To each incenſed Will. I would your Highneſs
Would give it quick Conſideration; for
There is no primer Baſeneſs.
King. By my Life,
This is againſt our Pleaſure.
Wol. And for me,
I have no further gone in this, than by
A ſingle Voice, and that not paſt me, but
By learned Approbation of the Judges.
If I'm traduc'd by Tongues, which neither know
My Faculties, nor Perſon, yet will be
The Chronicles of my doing; let me ſay,
'Tis but the Fate of Place, and the rough Brake
That Virtue muſt go through: We muſt not ſtint
Our neceſſary Actions, in the Fear
To cope malicious Cenſures, which ever,
As ravʼnous Fiſhes, do a Veſſel follow
That is new trimm'd; but benefit no further
Than vainly longing. What we oft do beſt,
By ſick Interpreters, or weak ones, is
Not ours, or not allow'd: What worſt, as oft

Hitting

called, wherein the King's Letter was read; and, by Order of the Court, four Aldermen and twelve Commoners were deputed to attend the Cardinal at *Hampton-court*, to thank him for the Services he had done the City. "But he was so engaged, as *Grafton* tells "us, that they could not speak to him; wherefore they "returned not content." However, it was agreed by the City in Common-Council, that each Alderman should sit in his Ward, and call the Citizens before him, and impart to them the King's Pleasure, in respect to the *Benevolence*; which was accordingly done, but without Effect; for they openly refused to give any Thing, saying, *They had paid enough before.*

On the 8th of *May*, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, with the City-counsel, attended the Cardinal again, when they declared to him the Minds of the Citizens;

Hitting a grosser Quality, is cry'd up
For our best Act. If we stand still, in fear
Our Motion will be mock'd or carped at,
We should take Root here where we sit:
Or sit State-statues only.
King. Things done well
And with a Care, exempt themselves from Fear.
Things done without Example, in their Issue
Are to be fear'd. Have you a Precedent
Of this Commission? I believe not any.
We must not rend our Subjects from our Laws,
And stick them in our Will. Sixth Part of each!
A trembling Contribution!——Why we take
From ev'ry Tree, Lop, Bark, and Part o'th' Timber:
And, though we leave it with a Root thus hack'd,
The Air will drink the Sap. To ev'ry Country
Where this is question'd, send our Letters, with
Free Pardon to each Man that has deny'd
The Force of this Commission. Pray look to't;
I put it to your Care.
Wol. A Word with you, [*To the Secretary.*
Let there be Letters writ to ev'ry Shire
Of the King's Grace and Pardon. The griev'd Commons
Hardly conceive of me; let it be nois'd,
That through our Intercession this Revokement
And Pardon comes: I shall anon advise you
Further in the Proceeding. [*Exit Secrtt.*

Citizens; and the Cardinal then took that Opportunity to ſay to them, "As I am your Commiſſioner, I "ſhall take the Liberty to examine you, one by one, "and try how well you ſtand affected to your Prince. "And I now ask of you a *Benevolence* in his Ma- "jeſty's Name:" To which one of the City-counſel anſwered, "That it was contrary to the Statute made "in the 1ſt Year of King *Richard* the IIId; for by "that Law no ſuch Benevolence ſhould be asked, nor "any Man examined in relation to it." To this the Cardinal rejoined, "Sir, I marvel that you ſpeak of "*Richard* the IIId, who was an Uſurper and a Mur- "derer of his own Nephews. How can ſo evil a "Man's Acts be good?—May it pleaſe your Grace, "ſaid the Counſellor, altho' he did Evil, many good "Acts were made not by him only, but by the Con- "ſent of the Body of the Realm, which is the *Par- "liament.*"

The Lord Mayor upon this kneeled to the Cardinal, and begged his Grace "That, ſince it was enact- "ed in the Common-Council, that every Alderman "ſhould ſit in his own Ward to collect the *Benevo- "lence*, that he would permit them to try the Citizens "once more." Well, ſaid the Cardinal, "I am con- "tent; however, as you are here, I ſhall proceed "thus far as to ask, What you will ſeverally give the "King?" "I pray you pardon me, ſaid the Lord "Mayor, if I ſhould grant any Thing, it might coſt "me my Life." The Cardinal replied, "That was "ſtrange, for the King would ſupport his Lordſhip; "and that, if any of you be grieved in this Matter, "come to me, and I ſhall ſo treat you as to give you "no Cauſe of Complaint, and this you may let your "Neighbours know." And ſo the Mayor for that Day departed.

No ſooner was the Lord Mayor and Aldermen returned into the City, but another Common-Council was held, when they repealed the Act made for every Alder-

Alderman to ſit in their Ward to raiſe the *Benevolence*, it being declared to be contrary to Law. At the ſame Inſtant it was propoſed by ſome of the Citizens, that they ſhould ſeverally repair to the Cardinal, and grant what they thought proper to the King; but this was rejected with great Contempt, and many of the Common-Council were for baniſhing from thence *Richard Greſham* and *John Hewſters* for propoſing it; but that was not carried, for they broke up without declaring their Reſolution.

The Commiſſioners in the Country, during theſe Tranſactions, were endeavouring to raiſe the *Benevolence*, but met with Oppoſition wherever they came. The Duke of *Suffolk* ſat in *Suffolk*, and by fair Words obtained of the Clothiers to aſſent and grant the King a ſixth Part of their Subſtance; but, inſtead of paying it, they were no ſooner got Home, than they diſcharged all their Workmen: So that an Inſurrection immediately enſued, and in a very ſhort Time above 4000 Men were got together, who declared, "That they "would kill the Commiſſioners that were there employ-"ed to collect the *Benevolence*." The Duke of *Suffolk* raiſed what Forces he could, and the Duke of *Norfolk*, hearing of what had paſſed, ſoon aſſembled a large Body of Men, and marched againſt them; and when the Duke came up with them he demanded, Who was their Captain? A Man, whoſe Name was *John Green*, replied, *That his Name was* Poverty, and his Couſin's *Neceſſity*, who hath brought us to this Doing; and then he laid their Complaints before the Duke, who was pleaſed to expreſs his Concern for them, and deſired them to diſperſe, which they accordingly did.

The Duke took only four of them with him to anſwer for the Offences of the reſt, yet aſſured the whole Body, that he would intercede with the King to pardon them all. Theſe four were brought to *London*, and put into the *Fleet*, as were two others from other Parts; and on the 29th of *May* they were

were brought to the *Star-chamber*, where the Cardinal, after making a Speech on the heinous Offence of Rebellion, declared to them, "That his Majeſty was "pleaſed to pardon all his Subjects, who either refuſed "to pay the *Loan* or *Benevolence*; but that, as the "Priſoners had been very active to ſtir up the People "againſt the Government, they ſhould find Security "for their good Behaviour." The Priſoners anſwered, "They could find none." Upon which the Cardinal generouſly ſaid, "As they were his Countrymen he "would be Security for them," and the Duke of *Norfolk* was the other: Thereupon they were diſcharged, and with it ended all the Proceedings both in reſpect to the *Loan* and the *Benevolence*; and, as the Affairs of *Europe* ſoon took a new Turn, the King's paſſing into *France* at the Head of an Army was laid aſide, the Peace of the Country was ſhortly after reſtored, and the Citizens of *London* * returned quietly to follow their different Calling, which had been greatly interrupted, through the Emotions raiſed on the late Demands.

The Author of the *Secret Hiſtory of the Kings of* England, ſpeaking of this Loan, ſays, "Tho' the "King of *England* proteſted he knew nothing of it, "yet I cannot believe that the Cardinal would, with"out the King's Knowledge, grant Commiſſions un"der the Great Seal of *England*, whereby every Man "was required to depoſe the true and certain Value "of his Eſtate, and then pay 4 *s.* in the Pound of "every 50 *l.* and upwards, but that this ſhould be "done without the King's Knowledge or Conſent is "ſuch a Piece of Treaſon as I believe no Subject be"fore was guilty of, and which the Cardinal himſelf "durſt never attempt. It is true the King, when he ſaw

* What the Citizens of *London* did, in oppoſing the Deſigns of the Court was worthy our Anceſtors, and it muſt, for their Honour, be ſaid, that they have not ſince been wanting in making a glorious Stand in the Cauſe of Liberty, when any Attempt has been made to break in upon the Conſtitution.

" ſaw it would not take, diſowned it, and, to ſalve " the Matter, declared, That he would not but by " by Courſe of Law demand any Thing of his Peo- " ple, tho' his Wants were great."

The King confers Honours on ſeveral of his Subjects.

The Affair that made ſuch a Noiſe, in relation to the *Loan* and *Benevolence*, being now blown over, and his Majeſty's Expedition to *France* laid aſide, his Thoughts were now turned to conferring Honours on ſome of his Subjects, by creating Sir *Thomas Bulleyn* Viſcount *Rochford*; *Henry Fitz-Roy*, his natural Son, Earl of *Nottingham* and Duke of *Richmond* * and *Somerſet*; the Earl of *Devonſhire* Mar-

* Lord *Herbert* gives us this Account of that young Prince. ' One of the Liberties which our ' King took, at his ſpare Time, ' was to *love*; for as all recom- ' mendable Parts concurred in ' his Perſon, and they again ' were exalted in his high Dig- ' nity and Valour, ſo it muſt ' ſeem leſs ſtrange, if, amidſt the ' many *fair Ladies* that lived in ' his Court, he both gave and ' received Temptations: Among ' whom Mrs. *Elizabeth Blunt*, ' Daughter of Sir *William Blunt*, ' Knt. was thought, for her rare ' Ornaments of Nature and Edu- ' cation, to be the Beauty and ' Miſtreſs-piece of her Time; ' that entire Affection paſt be- ' twixt them, and at laſt ſhe ' bore him a Son in the Year ' 1519. This Child proving ſo ' equally like to both his Parents, ' that he became the beſt Emblem ' of their mutual Affection, was ' named *Henry* FITZ-ROY by the ' King. The Cardinal ſtanding Godfather, great Care was taken of his Education, and as he grew up he ſurprizingly improved him- ſelf in the Arts and Sciences, and ſhewed more than ordinary Re- ſpect for the Cardinal, as appears from ſeveral original Letters writ- ten with his own Hand, now pre- ſerved in the *Exchequer* Record- office; and, as a Specimen there- of, we ſhall here introduce a Copy of one of them, wrote when he was but 13 Years old.

" In moſt humble wiſe I deſire " your good Grace, of your daily " Bleſſing, advertiſing the ſame " that I have written unto the " King's Highneſs, making my " moſt humble Interceſſion unto " the ſame, for one *Barnes* to " exerciſe myſelf in Arms, ac- " cording to my Erudition in " the Commentaries of *Cæſar*. " In moſt humble wiſe beſeech- " ing your Grace, to be a " Means for me unto the King's " Highneſs in this Behalf; and " my Truſt is, that I ſhall, as " well in this Thing as in all " other my Learnings, ſo do my " dili-

quis of *Exeter*; *Henry Brandon*, eldeſt Son of the Duke of *Suffolk*, Earl of *Lincoln*; *Thomas Manners*, Lord *Roſs*, Earl of *Rutland*; Sir *Henry Clifford* Earl of *Cumberland*; and Lord *Fitz-walter* Viſcount *Fitz-walter*. He was alſo graciouſly pleaſed to grant to *Richard Verney*, Eſq;* a Gentleman of an antient Family, and for whom his Majeſty had a very great Eſteem, a

" diligent Endeavours, that it " ſhall be to the high Conten- " tation as well of the King's " Highneſs, as of your Grace. " And thus our moſt merciful " Saviour in Chriſt have you, " my moſt Hon. Lord, and " loving Godfather, in his moſt " bleſſed and perpetual Protec- " tion. At *Pomfret* the laſt Day " of *January*, your full humble " Godſon,

" H. RICHMOND."

This Duke early contracted a Friendſhip with *Henry* Earl of *Surry*, and died in the Prime of his Life, (as before obſerved in the Note fol. 320.) whereby *England* loſt in him a very hopeful Prince.

* From this Gentleman was deſcended *Richard Verney*, of *Belton*, in the County of *Rutland*, Eſq; Mr. *Wright*, in his Antiquities of that County, treating of *Belton*; ſays, ' It was the Seat ' of *Richard Verney*, Eſq; a true ' Lover of Antiquities, and a ' worthy *Mecenas*.' He was choſe Knight of the Shire for *Warwick*, and knighted the 1ſt of *April*, 1685; and in the firſt Parliament, called by King *William* and Queen *Mary*, being a Deſcendant thro' the Heireſs of *Greville*, from *Robert Willoughby*, Baron *de Brooke*. He laid claim to that Title, which was allowed him in Parliament on the 13th of *February*, 1695; and accordingly, on the 25th of that Month, having had his Summons to the Houſe of Peers, took Place as the antient Barons *de Brook*. He lived to a very great Age, being born in 1621, and died on the 10th of *July*, 1711, having ſeen many Changes of Government during his Time. He was ſucceeded by his Son, *George* Lord *Willoughby*, Dean of *Windſor*, who died in the Year 1728, leaving three Sons, *Thomas*, *Richard* and *John*; which *John*, the youngeſt, was appoint- the 19th of *July*, 1727, one of the King's Council; and on the 13th of *May*, 1729, was appointed Atorney-general to her late Majeſty Queen *Caroline*. In 1733 he was appointed Chief Juſtice of *Cheſter*; and on the 7th of *October*, 1738, he was made *Maſter of the Rolls*, and too ſoon after died poſſeſſed of that high Office, univerſally lamented for his many valuable Qualities. *Thomas*, the eldeſt Son, died in his Father's Life-time; ſo that his Lordſhip upon his Death was ſucceeded in his Honour and Eſtate by his ſecond Son *Richard*, now the Right Hon. the Lord *Willoughby de Brooke*.

a ſpecial Licenſe, upon the Account of a great Infirmity in his Head, to wear his *Bonnet* at all Times, and in all Places, as well in the ſaid King's Preſence, as elſewhere, according to his Pleaſure, without the Interruption of any Man whatſoever. His Majeſty was alſo pleaſed to diſtinguiſh *William Carey*, Eſq; * by a Mark of his Royal Favour, firſt in making him Eſquire of the Body, and next one of the Gentlemen of the Privy-chamber; and his Majeſty was alſo pleaſed to make the Lord *Berners* † Lieutenant of *Calais*, where he ſpent the Remainder of his Life.

New Diſcoveries in the Weſt-Indies. 1525.

Here we hope it will not be amiſs to ſubjoin, to what we have before related concerning the Diſcoveries in the *Weſt* and *Eaſt-Indies*, that *Haſco Nunnez*, in

* *William Carey*, Eſq; was Brother-in-law to the Lady *Anna Bulleyn*, afterwards *Henry* the VIIIth's Queen, who died, in the Year 1528, before he ſaw his Siſter's Advancement, and left one Son, *Henry*, who was by Queen *Elizabeth* created Baron of *Hunſdon*, but the Iſſue-male of his firſt and ſecond Sons failing, the Deſcendants of his third Son, Sir *Edward Carey*, ſucceeded in the Barony. And the Right Hon. *William Ferdinand Carey* is now Lord *Hunſdon*, being deſcended in a direct Line from the aforeſaid Sir *Edmund*, one of the youngeſt Sons of the firſt Lord *Hunſdon*.

† It is remarkable, that *John* Lord *Berners*, was a Nobleman ſo eminent for his Learning, that, by the Command of *Henry* the VIIIth, he tranſlated the Chronicles of Sir *John Froiſſart*, out of *French* into *Engliſh*; he alſo tranſlated ſeveral other Works out of *French*, *Spaniſh*, and *Italian*; and died, leaving two Daughters *Mary* and *Jane*. *Mary* died without Iſſue; ſo that *Jane* became ſole Heireſs to her Father, and was married to —— *Knyvet*, Eſq; Searjeant-porter to K. *Hen.* the VIIIth. From the beforementioned *Jane* lineally deſcended *Catherine Knyvet*, afterwards married to *Richard Bokenham*, Eſq; who, laying her Claim to the Barony of *Berners*, his late Majeſty, King *George* the Iſt was pleaſed to refer it to the Houſe of Peers, who came to a Reſolution, that the ſaid *Catherine*, the Wife of *Richard Bokenham*, had a Right to the ſaid Barony, and accordingly is now ſtiled Lady *Berners*; and, in Caſe her Ladyſhip dies without Iſſue, it is ſaid the Title deſcends to the Heirs of *Thomas Knyvet*, of *Mutford*, in the County of *Suffolk*, Eſq;

in the Year 1513, firſt diſcovered the *South-ſea*; *Hernando de Magellanes* paſſed in 1520 through the Streights in *South America*, that bear his Name; and this Year, 1525, *Franciſco Picarro*, a *Spaniard*, reſiding at *Panama*, firſt attempted a Diſcovery of the *South-ſea* Coaſt, and at laſt came to *Peru*, which he ranſacked.

As to *Harnando de Magellanes*, he died in his Voyage; however, the Ship proceeded, and was the firſt that compaſſed the Globe, and returned to *Spain* by the *Cape of good Hope*, being piloted by *Juan Sebaſtian, de Cana*, a *Biſcanier*.

Affairs of Italy. 1525.

At the Concluſion of the laſt Year, we left *Francis* ſet down before *Pavia*, and pointed out ſeveral Errors he had then committed; and we find him, at the Beginning of this Year, continuing the Siege with as little Succeſs as before.

The Emperor's Army was ſo poſted, that they annoyed the *French* Convoys very much; beſides, *Francis*, by the Detachments he had made from his Army, very much weakened it, as we have before remarked. On the other hand, before the End of *January*, the Duke of *Bourbon* arrived from *Germany*, in the Imperial Camp, with a Reinforcement of above 10,000 Foot and 1000 Horſe. When theſe Forces joined the Army, which was then encamped at *Lodi*, the whole was muſtered and conſiſted of 32,000 ſtrong: But ſtill they were in their old Condition, Want of Money, which did not a little embarraſs the Imperial Generals. In ſhort, before the Arrival of theſe Troops, they were made a Jeſt of, and a Bill was put upon the Statue of *Paſquin* to this Effect, "Whoſoever can "bring Tidings of the Imperial Army, loſt ſome "Days ſince, among the Mountains on the Coaſt of "*Genoa*, ſhall be well rewarded; but if they conceal "them they ſhall be looked upon as Thieves."

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The Duke of *Bourbon* next held a Council of War, where were preſent the Duke of *Milan*, *George* of *Auſtria*, *Charles Lanoy*, Vice-roy of *Naples*, the Marquis of *Peſcara*, and ſeveral other Generals, in which, after long Debates, it was reſolved to endeavour the Relief of *Pavia*. Upon the Breaking-up of this Council the general Officers repaired to the different Quarters aſſigned them, and the Marquis of *Peſcara* made a Speech to the Soldiers under his Command, wherein he encouraged them "To maintain "their antient Honour, and that, though the military "Cheſt would not produce ſufficient, at preſent, to pay "them their Arrears, yet that Care ſhould be taken "to ſee them all faithfully paid." This was ſo well received, that the *Spaniſh* Soldiers not only offered to ſtay for their Pay, but raiſed ſo much Money among themſelves, as ſerved to give every *German* Soldier a Crown, and provide ſeveral Neceſſaries for the Train of Artillery, of which an Account was taken, that they might be repaid out of the firſt Money. This grand Point being ſettled, on the 31ſt of *January*, the Army marched from *Lodi*, and encamped at *Marignano*, and the next Day, turning ſhort, they ſtruck into the Road to *Pavia*, the Garriſon of which Place, upon perceiving them from their Tower, teſtified their Joy by firing all their Cannon and ſmall Arms, beſides Illuminations and Ringing of Bells: The *French*, in Return, ſaluted them with their Artillery, which, however, did but very little Execution. As the Army drew nearer and nearer, the *French* employed themſelves in intrenching, throwing up three or four Mounds, from which with their Cannons they battered the *Imperialiſts* as they marched on. So that it was near 20 Days before they could come cloſe enough to the *French* to engage them, which made Proviſions ſo extraordinary ſcarce in the Imperial Camp, that a Soldier had only a ſmall Loaf a Day allowed for his own Subſiſtance.

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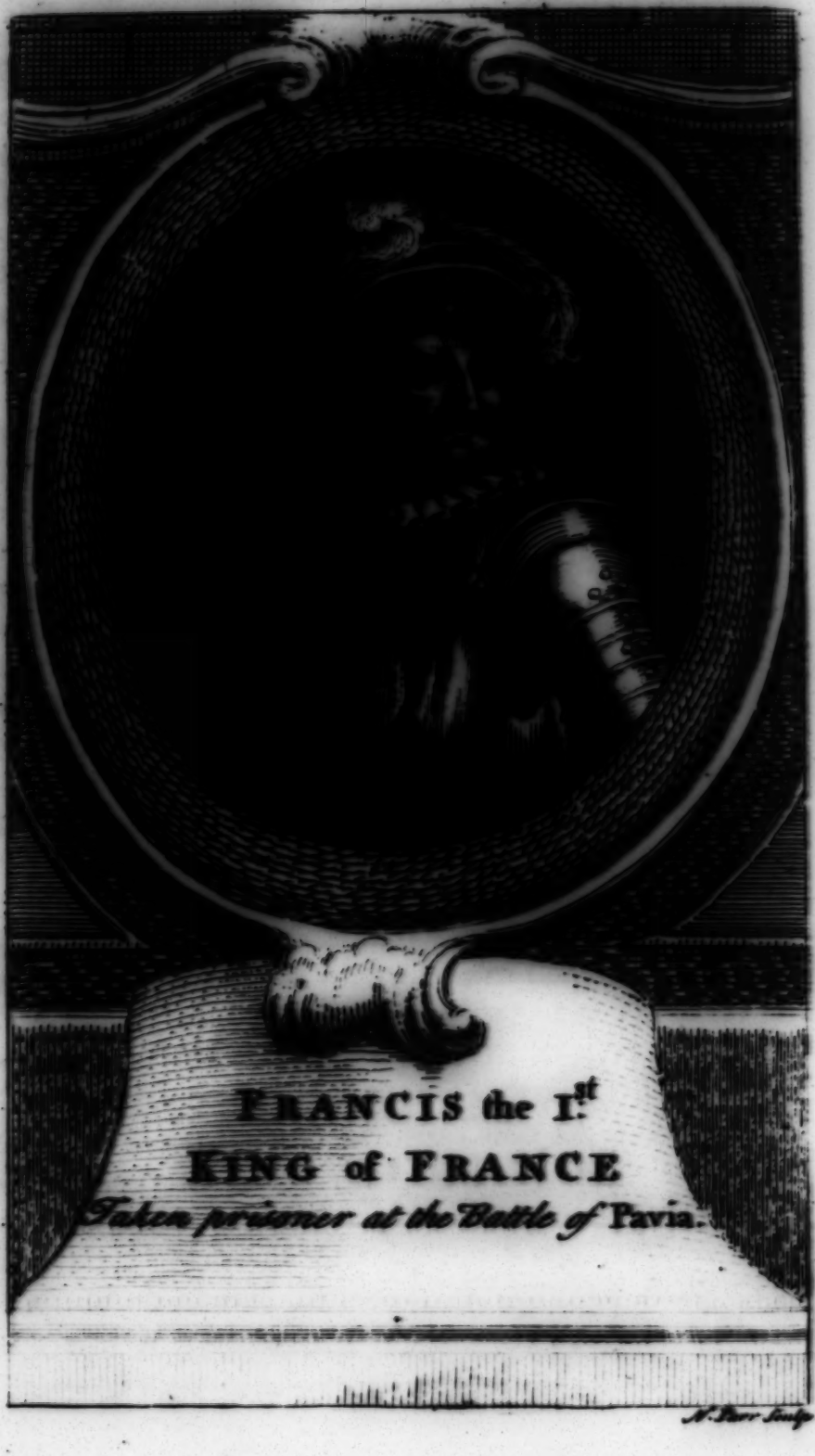
As the *French* had thus deeply intrenched themſelves, the Duke of *Bourbon* was a little at a ſtand, fearing leſt he ſhould miſcarry in his Deſign. At this Inſtant, the *French* Army was further weakened, by 6000 *Griſons* quitting their Service and returning Home, in Oppoſition to all the Remonſtrances that King *Francis* could make againſt it, and at the ſame time 3000 *Italians*, in *French* Pay, diſbanded themſelves. On the *German* Part the beſieged in *Pavia* were in the utmoſt Neceſſity, and many of their Troops ready to mutiny for want of Pay.

This being the Condition of the two Armies, the Duke of *Bourbon* and the other Generals, in a Council of War, came to a final Reſolution of attacking the *French* in their Camp, coſt what it would, which they began to put in Execution the Evening of St. *Matthias*, being the Emperor's Birth-day. *Guicciardin* gives a long Account of the Steps taken by *Bourbon* to keep his Troops together, in order to make this Aſſault; being, as this Writer alſo confeſſes, reduced to the laſt Neceſſity for want of Money: So that the Hopes of a fortunate Turn in their Affairs animated the Duke's Troops to make the Attack; and, for their more regular proceeding and avoiding Confuſion, every Soldier, by the Command of his Captain, put on a white Jacket over his Armour, to diſtinguiſh them from the *French*. They were drawn up before Break of Day, the Horſe in two Squadrons, and the Foot properly ranged, under the Command of the different Generals. The *French* King, being informed of the Duke of *Bourbon*'s Diſpoſition of his Army, drew up his in Battle-array, and at Sun-riſing the *Imperialiſts* diſcovered the *French* approaching them, headed by the King himſelf, *Henry* King of *Navarre*, *Bonnivet*, Admiral of *France*; the Marſhals *la Trimoville*, *Paliſſe*, *la Foix*, Count *St. Pol*, *Richard*


FRANCIS the I.st
KING of FRANCE
Taken prisoner at the Battle of Pavia.

Richard de la Pole, and other Men of the greateſt Note.

The Action began by the *French* playing off 30 Pieces of Cannon, and ſeveral Field-pieces, from a Battery raiſed before them, upon the *Imperial* Army, which did conſiderable Execution, and obliged the *Spaniards* in particular to ſhift their Ground. By this Time the *Imperial* Men at Arms came within Muſket-ſhot of the *French*, who thereupon quitted the Advantage of their Cannon, and marched directly to meet them: The Shock was great, and bravely ſuſtained on both Sides: But the *Imperialiſts* at firſt gave way, which, the Marquis of *Peſcara* perceiving, he ſent 2000 *Spaniſh* Muſkateers to their Aſſiſtance; who, coming upon the Flank of the *French*, made great Slaughter among them, and ſeveral Men of Note fell. Beſides, their Manner of Fighting ſo frightened the *French* Horſes, that many of them ran away againſt the Will of their Riders; whilſt others, who were over-powered, ſurrendered themſelves, yet were killed without any Mercy, and contrary to the Military Laws; particularly Marſhal *de la Paliſſe*, after Quarter given him, was baſely butchered. All the Emperor's Officers behaved themſelves with extraordinary Courage. The Marquis of *Civita St. Angelo*, a *Greek*, deſcended from the famous *Scanderbeg*, the Reins of his Horſe's Bridle being looſened, ran with him into the midſt of his Enemies, where he had the Misfortune to receive his *Quietus* from *Francis* the Iſt's own Hand, who ſtruck him through the Body. In the mean Time the Marquis of *Peſcara* advancing towards the *French*, *Francis*, Brother to the Duke of *Lorain*, oppoſed him. The *Spaniards* relate that the *French* were 15,000; the *French* ſay no more than 5000, whom the *Spaniſh* Foot received with ſuch continual Peals of Shot, that, after a great Number had been killed, the reſt betook themſelves to Flight. Nor

Battle of Pavia. 1525.

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is it in this particular only that the two Nations vary; for the *French* affirm, that the whole Body of *Imperial Germans* ſpent their Shot upon their Gens-d'arms, who were abandoned by ſuch of the *Swiſs* ſent to ſupport them; thoſe People either taking Quarters, or making the beſt of their Way to *Milan*. In fine, ſuch was now the State of the Battle, that the *French* gave Way on all Sides; only the Gens d'Arms made ſome faint Oppoſition, and the whole Force of the *Imperialiſts* was like to fall upon them: Which the King perceiving, he thought of ſaving himſelf, and in order thereto took the Way towards the Bridge over the River adjoining, being forſaken by moſt of his Army. A ſtraggling Muſqueteer belonging to the *Imperialiſts*, ſhot his Horſe, and one *John de Urbieta*, a *Biſcanier*, and a Man of Arms coming up as he fell, and clapping the Point of his Sword to his Side, where his Armour joined, bid him yield. The King, being in that Danger, ſaid, *Give me my Life, for I am the King*. Tho' it was ſpoken in *French*, the *Biſcanier* underſtood it, and bid him yield; to which he again anſwered, *I yield myſelf up to the Emperor*. No ſooner were theſe Words ſpoken, but the *Biſcanier* looking up, ſaw his Cornet ſurrounded by the *French*, and in Danger; whereupon, without thinking to ask the King for any Pledge, he only deſired him to take notice that he wanted a Tooth before, and ſo went away to reſcue his Cornet, leaving the King with one Leg under his Horſe. Preſently came up to him another Man of Arms of *Granada*, called *James d'Avila*, who bid him yield. The King told him who he was, and that he had yielded himſelf Priſoner already. *D'Avila* asked him, Whether he had given any Pledge? and being told he had not, aſked one; whereupon the King gave him his bloody Sword and Gauntlet. While *D'Avila* was labouring to get him up, one *Piſa* a Man of Arms belonging to *Galicia* came by, and aſſiſted him; but

but as the King roſe, *Piſa* took off the Order of *St. Michael*, that hung at his Breaſt by a ſmall Gold-chain, for which *Francis* afterwards offered him a Reward of 6000 Ducats, which he refuſed, being reſolved to carry it to the Emperor. When his Majeſty got up, ſome Muſqueteers paſſing by would have killed him, not believing him to be the King, had not Monſ. *de la Motte* (who followed the Duke of *Bourbon*) been alſo going that Way, who perceived a Contention among the Horſe and Foot, the former defending, and the other endeavouring to kill the Priſoner, and therefore deſired to ſee him; which he was permitted to do, and inſtantly fell on his Knees. This convinced the *Spaniſh* Soldiers that their Priſoner was no leſs than the King; who, as he wiped his Face, bedaubed it with Blood from his Hand, that had been hurt, which made many believe he had been wounded in the Face, but it was a Miſtake. Then *James d'Avila* took off his Helmet; and many other Soldiers crowded about him; ſome took the Feathers out of his Creſt, others cut off Pieces of his Coat, to carry with them as a Memorial of their having been engaged in the Overthrow of ſo renowned a Prince; ſo that at laſt they left him no Coat: Yet *Francis*, tho' in this Condition, behaved with great Trepidity, and ſeemed to be pleaſed with what the Soldiers did.

The routed Army took the Road towards *Vigevan*, a large Town 18 Miles from *Pavia*, where many of the *French* Nobility had left their Equipages under a ſtrong Guard; many got to the Bridge, which was defended by a *Spaniard* in the *French* Service, who received as many of them as he could; but ſeeing the *Imperialiſts* approach, they broke the Bridge, made the beſt of their Way to *Turin*, and thence into *France*. A great Number, who could not get time enough to the Bridge, or miſſed their Way to it, took the River, which being then ſwollen, they periſhed in the Streams. Moſt

of them that fled towards *Milan* were killed by the Country People; but among the Wounded and Priſoners was the brave Count *St. Pol.**

Henry King of *Navarre*, ſeeing all was loſt, betook himſelf to Flight, and was taken by a Man of Arms and a Foot Soldier, who came up with him one after the other, who, as ſoon as they knew his Quality, carried him to the Marquis of *Peſcara*, who gave each of them 1000 Florins in Gold for their Service. He was confined in the Caſtle of *Pavia*, where he remained a long while, till at laſt, bribing a Servant belonging to the Marquis *del Gaſto*, his Keeper, he fled with him into *France*.

On the News of the two Kings being taken, ſeveral *French* Gentlemen, who might have got off, came and ſurrendered themſelves, ſaying, *They would not return into* France, and *leave their King in Captivity*.

The *Imperial* Generals, being informed where King *Francis* was, came and paid him all the Reſpect imagin-

* Monſieur *St. Pol* was a *Bourbon*, Brother to Monſieur *Vendoſme*, and a moſt valiant and courageous Prince, who never had a Symptom of Cowardice. He was highly eſteemed by *Francis* the Iſt, and commanded a Body of 6000 Foot at the Battle of *Pavia*, where he fought with ſo much Bravery, that, having received ſeveral Wounds, he was left for dead among the Slain. In this Condition, a Soldier diſcovering a valuable Ring on his Finger, which was ſwelled, went to cut it off; but *St. Pol*, immediately recovering himſelf, told the Soldier who he was, who thereupon carried him to *Pavia*, where he was perfectly cured, and afterwards gained ſo far on his Keepers, that he got out of Priſon without paying any Ranſom. Some Years afterwards the King gave him a very fine Army, to ſuccour *Lautrec* then in *Italy*, upon hearing, that the Duke of *Brunſwick* was going to be ſent into the Country, with a large Body of Forces to engage him: But the Emperor *Charles* the Vth, having conceived ſome Jealouſies of this laſt mentioned Prince, did not ſend him: However, *St. Pol* marched into the *Milaneſe*, and amongſt other Places took *Pavia*, that had been ſo fatal to *France*; but his good Fortune did not laſt long, for *Anthony de Leyva*, the Emperor's Lieutenant, though carried in a Litter, went out of *Milan* with what Forces he could aſſemble together, who gave *St. Pol* Battle, defeated him, and took him Priſoner. Yet in Time he obtained his Liberty, and died in *France*, leaving Iſſue only one Daughter.

ginable, he having behaved himſelf with much Prudence and Magnanimity; the Duke of *Bourbon* alſo came, who, on alighting, would have kiſſed his Hand; but the King would not conſent to it: Then, the Tears ſtanding in his Eyes, he ſaid, *If your Majeſty had followed my Advice in ſome Things, you had not been now in this Condition; nor had the Plains of* Italy *been ſtained with the Blood of the Nobility of* France. To which the King, in ſome Diſorder, anſwered, *Patience, ſince Fortune does not favour!* inſtantly mounted his Horſe, and, in Company with the *Imperial* Generals, rode towards *Pavia*; but, when they came near the Gates, the King ſtopped, and deſired the Generals who conducted him, "That they "would not put ſo great an Affront on him, as to "carry him Priſoner into that Place which he had ſo "long beſieged in vain." Upon this it was reſolved, he ſhould be quartered in a Monaſtery without the Walls, and the Guard of him committed to Lord *Alarcon*. This being ſettled, the *Imperial* Army took their Quarters the ſame Night in the *French* Tents.

There were ſeveral Perſons of Diſtinction that fell in this Battle, particularly the brave and gallant Marſhal *de la Trimoville*,* Marſhal *Foix*,† and Admiral *Bonni-*

* Monſieur *de la Trimoville* was a great and ſage Officer, and had the Honour to be called the *Captain without Fear or Reproach*. Being King *Charles* the VIIIth's General, who commanded his Army in *Brittany*. He had the good Fortune to take Monſieur *d'Orleans* Priſoner, at the Battle of *St. Aubin* of *Cormier* (ſee Vol. I. fol. 92) and, tho' this Prince afterwards ſucceeded to the Crown, *Trimoville* felt no Reſentment from him, for what he had then done, *Lewis* the XIIth looking upon it as a ſure Pledge, that, as he had ſerved his Predeceſſor faithfully, he would not act otherwiſe by himſelf. Yet Fortune does not always favour the greateſt of Heroes, and that was the Caſe with *Trimoville*, at the Battle of *Pavia*, who behaved and fought moſt ſurprizingly, conſidering his great Age, until he was overpowered and ſlain.

† Marſhal *de Foix*, whoſe Name was *Thomas de Foix*, Lord of *Lefcun*, and Brother to *Lautrec*, was a good Captain, but whoſe Courage and Valour, however, exceeded

Bonnivet; ‡ and the laſt too late, according to a By-word, for the Good of *France*.

Thus

ceeded his Prudence and Conduct. He was deſigned for the Gown, and ſtudied a conſiderable Time at *Pavia*, in *Chaumont*'s Days, when the *French* peaceably poſſeſſed *Milan*. He was nick-named the *Prothonotar* of *Foix*, on Account of the little Progreſs he made in his Studies, it being particularly remarkable, in thoſe Days, that Prothonoters could not brag much of their Learning.

'A *French* Writer tells us, when 'the *Goths* took *Athens*, they 'found therein a large Library 'full of Books, which exceeded 'every Thing of that Kind before 'ſeen by them, and which they 'would have burned, had they 'not been diſſuaded from it by this 'Allegation, that thoſe Books, 'which afforded them much 'Learning, had rendered the 'Greeks effeminate. Monſieur *de* '*Leſcun* was, probably, of this O-'pinion, and did not give himſelf 'much Pain about Literature, and 'perhaps might be the Reaſon why 'he was not effeminate, but valiant 'and ſtrong, and had more of the 'blunt than polite Addreſs.' At the Battle of *Pavia*, after having fought couragiouſly, according to his cuſtomary and undaunted Valour, he was mortally wounded and carried into that City, where he died nine Days after, at the Counteſs of *Scaſaſior*'s Houſe; a Lady, of whom, when a Student, he was enamoured, and ſo continued to his laſt Period.

‡ Admiral *Bonnivet* was ſo beloved and favoured of King *Francis*, that he directed every Thing relating to the War in his Life-time, as the Chancellor *du Prat* did the Affairs of Juſtice and thoſe of the Finances. He was the King's Lieutenant at *Pumterabia*, and beyond the *Alps*, after *Lautrec*; where, however, he did nothing to the King's Advantage, nor his own; and, tho' he had ſome of the beſt Captains in *France* with him, he never would hearken to their Advice, having always thought himſelf more ſufficient than all the other Generals, notwithſtanding that they, by their long Experience, deſerved to be his Commanders rather than to ſerve under him. He was wounded in the Engagement at *Rebec*, where the Duke of *Bourbon* attempted to cut off his Retreat upon his retiring into *France*, and was carried in a Litter out of the Field, elſe the Duke of *Bourbon*, whoſe Hatred for *Bonnivet* was implacable, and who eagerly endeavoured to come up with him, would very probably have given him his *Quietus*. This was after *Bourbon* failed in his Attempt on *Marſeilles*, and returned, full Speed, over the *Alps* into *Italy*; the Admiral then purſued him ſo cloſely, that on the Arrival of both Armies in the *Milaneſe*, he was ſcarce half an Hour's March from *Bourbon*. *Bonnivet*'s Advice prevailed with *Francis* to fight the Battle of *Pavia*, againſt the concurrent Opinions of *Trimoville*, *La Paliſſe*, *Lewis*, *d'Ars*, *Sanſeverin*, *Trivulca*, *Galliat*,

Thus far the *Spaniards* have accounted for the Battle of *Pavia*, and ſome of the Conſequences that attended it. Other Authors relate, that, after the two Armies were engaged, the Garriſon of *Pavia* ſallied out, and much annoyed the *French*, and that *Francis* kept in the Middle of the Battle, being encompaſſed with the beſt of his Troops, and encouraged his Men to the utmoſt of his Power; yet, after he had fought long with his own Hand, his Horſe being killed under him, himſelf hurt both in his Face and Hand, and

Galliat, and ſeveral other experienced Officers. However, in the Action, Admiral *Bonnivet* fought moſt gallantly, and acted the Part of the Soldier as well as of the Captain: But ſeeing Fortune and Victory declared for the Enemy, after having, in vain, attempted ſeveral times to rally the *Switzers* and the Cavalry, he reſolved not to ſurvive ſo melancholy a Cataſtrophe, whereupon, he plunged himſelf into the thickeſt of the Enemy, whom he attacked courageouſly, and there died like a brave Commander.

There is a Story, in the Queen of *Navarre*'s Novels, of a Lord that was King *Francis*'s Favourite, who had invited his Majeſty, and his whole Court to one of his Country Seats: The Lord, on that Occaſion, ſo contrived it, that he got to bed with a great Princeſs; but, as the Author ſays, obtained nothing from her but to be well ſcratched. This is told of *Bonnivet*, but the Princeſs's Name is concealed. It was by his ſole Advice, as the *French* Writers ſay, that *Francis* repaſſed the *Alps*, after *Bourbon*, not ſo much for his Maſter's Service and Intereſt, as to indulge himſelf with the Company of a grand Lady at *Milan*, who was extreamly beautiful, and had been his Miſtreſs ſome Years before. Her Name was *Signora Clerice*, and *Bonnivet* had ſaid ſo many fine Things of her to the King, that he was immediately ſeized with a paſſionate Deſire of ſeeing her, *&c.* This was the chief Cauſe of *Francis*'s Journey into *Italy*, which remained a Secret for a long Time: Though they paid ſo dear for their *Curioſity*, yet it cannot be inferred, that the Lady was the Cauſe of the War.

Bonnivet loved Grandeur as well as a fine Lady, and was not ſparing in his Expences. Having been on an Ambaſſy once in *England*, he was accompanied by a moſt ſplendid Retinue, according to the Cuſtom of the Kings Favourites; and, amongſt other Marks of his Sumptuouſneſs, he had 25 Mules for Coffers, richly harneſſed with their Trappings of Crimſon Velvet, and his Arms ſo curiouſly embroidered in Gold and Silver, that the King of *England* and his whole Court admired them.

and beat down to the Ground, he was taken Priſoner by five Soldiers that knew him not; in which Misfortune the Vice-roy of *Naples* preſſing into the Throng, his Majeſty diſcloſed himſelf to him, who with great Reverence kiſſed his Hand, and received him Priſoner in the Emperor's Name. On the News of the King's being taken Priſoner, the Remainder of the *French* Army, leaving behind them their Baggage, retired to *Piedmont*: "And, ſays *Guicciardin*, the *French* were "more haſty to fly, than careful of their Honour; and, "as one Calamity follows another, ſo the Loſs of the "Battle was no ſooner known in *Milan*, than the *French* "Captain, who lay there in Garriſon, run away with "his Men, and made the ſame Haſte to return Home, "as many of his Countrymen had before him; ſo that, "by the Loſs of this Battle, the *French* loſt every "Foot of Ground they had in the *Milaneſe*."

Sir *John Ruſſel*, in a Letter to the King (the Original being to be ſeen in the *Exchequer* Record-office) gives him ſome Particulars of what happened both before and after the Battle of *Pavia*. An Extract of which here follows:

Sir John Ruſſel's *Letter to the King, relating to the Battle of* Pavia.

"That the Emperor's Army "thought to have aſſaulted the *French* "King in his Camp in the Morning "betimes, every one of them having "a white Shirt upon his Harnoir, whereof, e're it "were Midnight, he was informed, who then remov-"ed out of his Camp into the plain Field, and or-"dained his Battle the ſame Night; ſo that the Em-"peror's Army thought to have ſet upon them, be-"ing encamped, but they found them in Array and "good Order, marching towards them, having forty "Pieces of Artillery, which did much Hurt." Then Sir *John* proceeds to ſpeak as to what was obſerved after the Loſs of the Battle. "The *French* King "blames his *Swiſs* for that he loſt the Battle, they not "having done their Parts as they ſhould. His Lance-

Knights

" Knights fought very well againſt their own Na-
" tion. *Richard de la Pole* was their Captain, and
" killed there, and very few of them eſcaped; beſides
" this, 1400 Men of Arms were near deſtroyed, not
" above 4 or 500 eſcaping. There were ſlain in the
" Field 12,000, beſides divers that were drowned in
" their Flight, which were daily found; and not leſs
" than 10,000 taken Priſoners. Great Praiſe is given
" to the Duke of *Bourbon*, for that he was the chief
" Cauſe of winning the Victory, which was as great
" as had been ſeen for many Years." Sir *John* fur-ther relates, " That Monſ. *d'Elencon* was among thoſe
" who eſcaped into *France* after the Battle. The Let-ter is dated from *Milan*, *March* the 13th.*

The

* Permit us to add to what we have before remarked: The Cardinal, on account of this Battle, and the Succours pretended to be with-held by him from the D. of *Bourbon*, has not eſcaped Cenſure even from Mr. *Cavendiſh*, as well as *Stow* and *Fox*, which was the moſt groundleſs Charge that ever was exhibited.

Cavendiſh begins with ſpeaking of the Variance between K. *Francis* and the Duke of *Bourbon*, and relates the Diſtreſs to which the *Imperial* Army was reduced, under the Command of *Bourbon*, before the Siege of *Pavia* was raiſed, (ſee fol. 3. *&c.* foregoing) and imputes the ill Condition, that General and his Troops were in, to the want of the Money, which ought to have been paid from *England*.

To this we anſwer, that Sir *John Ruſſel* was not bound to make Payment to the *Imperial* Troops after they marched into *Italy*, nor ought the Extremities, to which the Army under the Duke of *Bourbon* was reduced, be imputed to any Infidelity on this ſide the Water, but to a plain Remiſneſs on the Part of his *Imperial* Majeſty.

We are told by Mr. *Cavendiſh*, that the Duke of *Bourbon* commanded in the Town of *Pavia*, that both Officers and Soldiers began to mutiny for want of Pay and neceſſary Proviſions; and that they moved and importuned the Duke to ſurrender. Upon which he expoſtulated with them, and, in the Concluſion, ſo animated them by a Speech he made, (which, indeed, is drawn in Terms becoming a brave and gallant Commander) that, upon their ſallying out by Night, as he adviſed, they obtained a glorious and compleat Victory over the Enemy.

But the Misfortune is, that this fine Speech, which is ſaid to have done ſuch Wonders, is here owing to an Occaſion that never happened, tho' Inſtances of this kind are not unuſual in Hiſtory.

The

The Army continued in the deserted Camp 5 or 6 Days, the Booties of all Kinds taken from the Enemy were of incredible Value; besides, a vast Quantity of Provi-

The Duke of *Bourbon*, as it fully appears in the foregoing Relation, and in the above Letter, did not command in the Town, but marched at the Head of the *Imperial* Army to relieve it. The Battle was not fought by *Night*, but by *Day*, nor did the Garrison sally out till the two Armies were engaged. We are not to be surprized after this at what *Cavendish* tells us, that, when the *Imperialists* came to rifle the Tent of King *Francis*, the Duke of *Bourbon* found a League newly made, in the Cabinet of that Prince under the Great Seal of *England*, whereby he perceived the Impediment of his Money, which should have come to him from thence; having, upon due Search of this Matter, further Intelligence, that this was devised by the Cardinal of *England*.

That *Cavendish* was imposed upon in this particular appears from many Instances and Letters; particularly one from Sir *John Russel*, who writes to the King after the Battle of *Pavia*; an Extract of which we shall here lay before the Reader, and the Original is to be seen in the *Exchequer* Record-office.

Sir *John* informs his Majesty, "That, in pursuance of Letters "from the Lord Cardinal, he "repaired to the Duke of *Bour-* "*bon* at *Milan*, and found him "firmly fixed to follow his De- "signs against *France*; that he "would set the Crown of *France* "upon his Highness's Head; "that there was now more to "be done with 100,000 Crowns "than before with 500,000; "that the Duke desired Pay- "ment of 12,000 Foot and 500 "Men of Arms for two Months, "and that the Duke would pay "them one Month himself; "and with those Forces he would "pass into *France*; *for that he* "*would trust only his Highness,* "*and no Man else*; *for that, if* "*Contributions were to be paid* "*him by the Vice-roy of* Naples, "*and others in those Parts, they* "*would handle him as they did* "*when he was in* Provence; "*and, rather than he would suf-* "*fer such Dishonour, as he then* "*did, he would chuse to die.* "*Notwithstanding the Duke de-* "*clares he will keep all his En-* "*gagements to the Emperor and* "*the King to the utmost of his* "*Power.*" And Sir *John* concludes his Letter with observing, "That the Duke desires, that, "if his Highness's Pleasure is to "assist him, he should do it be- "fore the *French* recover the "Consternation they were un- "der, upon the Account of the "Loss of the Battle of *Pavia*."

Now, can any Reader, after perusing the foregoing different Relations, believe, that the Duke of *Bourbon*, upon rifling King *Francis*'s Tent, found any Treaty between him and *England*? For, if the Duke had, surely he would never have declared himself in the above Manner to Sir *John Russel*, in prejudice to their first Contract.

Proviſions were found in the *French* Camp; all Priſoners below a Ranſom were ſoon diſmiſſed, on Condition, as appears in another Letter from Sir *John Ruſſel* to Cardinal *Wolſey*, (now extant in the *Exchequer* Record-office) that ſeveral of them ſhould ſerve for a Year, others for 6 Months, and 3 Months, againſt the Emperor, from the Time of their Enlargement. Some of the *Imperialiſts* followed the Chace as far as *Milan*, where they were enriched with the Plunder of the *French*.

We are told by a *Spaniſh* Author, that the next Day after the Battle, a Country Fellow came into the Camp, demanding a Reward, becauſe, as he ſaid, he had killed the Prince of *Scotland*; who, had put on a green Coat a Servant of his was uſed to wear, and thrown away his Helmet, hoping in that Diſguiſe to eſcape. Not far from the Field of Battle this Prince met a Company of Peaſants, (who waited for the Iſſue of the Action, in order to fall upon whoſoever ſhould be worſted) and deſired to be guided to *Vigevan* by ſome of them; and, one offering to ſerve him, he, to make the Fellow the more diligent in his Service, told him who he was, and withal promiſed to make his Fortune, if he would go with him into *France*, or elſe to give him 200 Ducats as ſoon as he came to *Vigevan*, where he had left his Equipage, and as an Earneſt thereof gave him a gold Chain. The treacherous Peaſant, when they came to a certain Marſh, bid the Prince ſtretch over it, which, as ſoon as he had attempted to do, his Horſe ſunk under him up to the Belly, when inſtantly the Ruffian, coming behind him with his Sword, cleft his Skull; after which he came to the *Imperial* Army to demand a Reward for the Service he thought he had done, ſhewing the Chain as a Token of the Truth of his Aſſertion. The Reward this perfidious Wretch received was ſuch as he deſerved, for he was hanged at the Head of the Army, and the Prince's Body was taken up and depoſited in a Monaſtery at *Pavia*.

However true this Relation might be, as to the Peaſant's murdering a Prince or ſome *French* Nobleman in the Manner related, it could not be the Prince of *Scotland*; for the Duke of *Albany*, as we ſaid before, had been detached from the *French* Army, received the News of the Defeat and of the King's Impriſonment, juſt as he arrived near *Rome*, and was preparing to make his publick Entry into that City.

On the other hand the Nobility of *Naples*, the Duke of *Seſſa*, and the Family of the *Colonna's*, had muſtered ſome Forces together, in order to oppoſe his Progreſs, when the diſmal News of the King's Misfortunes arrive. This made all the Favourers of the Duke's Expedition to *Naples* fall off, and himſelf was ſo diſmayed at what had happened, that he knew not what Courſe to take. At laſt he reſolved to march off in the beſt Manner he could with his Men; but the *Colonna's* and the *Imperialiſts* purſued, killed and took ſeveral of them, and poſſeſſed themſelves of all his Baggage and Cannon; and it was with Difficulty himſelf, with ſuch as were able to follow him, eſcaped to *Civita Vecchia*, where *Andrew Doria* was with the *French* Fleet, who received and carried him and the Remainder of his Troops into *France*; ſo that now the whole Body of the *French* Army was entirely ſcattered, and ſcarce a *Frenchman* could ſhew his Face in *Italy*.

No ſooner was the Battle over, but Expreſſes were immediately ſent to *Spain*, *England*, the *Pope*, the *Venetians*, and other States of *Italy*, in order to give an Account of this memorable Event: whilſt theſe Expreſſes were paſſing to the ſeveral Parts of *Europe*, King *Francis* was removed from the Monaſtery, and put into the ſtrong Caſtle of *Piciguitione*, where he was kept under a Guard of *Spaniards*, and there continued till the Emperor's Orders came for carrying him into *Spain*.

The

The Emperor received the News of the Victory of *Pavia* at *Madrid*, where he gave a memorable Inſtance of his Diſſimulation, (as appeared in the Sequel) ſhewing no Signs of Tranſport either in his Aſpect, Words, or Behaviour; but in general declared himſelf pleaſed, "That God had given him ſo ſingular a "Teſtimony of his Favour which he had not deſerv-"ed, and hoped it would give him an Opportunity "of eſtabliſhing the Peace of *Europe*, and might be "a Means of doing good to his Friends, and par-"doning his Enemies." When he went to make his Oblations in our *Lady*'s Church, called *d'Attotcha*, at *Madrid*, he would not ſuffer the accuſtomed Expreſſions of publick Joy, by Bonfires and Ringing of Bells, ſaying, "It did not become *Chriſtians* to re-"joice at their Victories over each other; but only for "their Conqueſts over *Infidels*." He ſeemed to ſympathize with *Francis*'s Misfortune, and, as we may ſay, to put himſelf in his Place, by acknowledging it to be a mere Chance, and that no Prince, how great ſoever, was exempt from the like Accident. Preſently after he called his Council to debate what was to be done with his Priſoner: His Confeſſor, who ſpoke firſt, was for releaſing him without Terms, repreſenting, "That, by ſuch a generous Act, he would "not only acquire univerſal Fame, but make the "King of *France* his real Friend, who, not to be "out-done in Generoſity, would doubtleſs ſtrive "to expreſs his Gratitude: That, by his Help, he "could give Laws to *Germany* and *Italy*, without "being obliged to demand the Aſſiſtance of other "inferior Princes." But the Duke of *Alva* anſwered all theſe Arguments, and concluded, "It was beſt "to reap from this Victory all the Advantages it "could naturally procure:" Whoſe Opinion was moſt agreeable to the Emperor. This plainly ſhews, that his pretended Moderation was but a Diſguiſe to prevent

the Princes of *Europe* from being alarmed, and concerting Meaſures to oppoſe the Execution of his ambitious Deſigns.

The Emperor ſoon cauſed Articles to be drawn up and ſent to *Francis*, requiring him to ſign the ſame, in which, among other Things, *Charles* demanded, "The Dutchy of *Burgundy*; that *Francis* ſhould "renounce all Pretenſions to *Italy*; that the Duke "of *Bourbon* ſhould have the Territories of *Provence*, "and *Dauphin*, in order to erect theſe Provinces, with "the Duke's other Eſtates, into a Kingdom: *And* "*all the Care he took of* England *was, that* Francis "*ſhould give* Henry *Satisfaction concerning what was* "*due to him.**"

When theſe Articles were preſented to *Francis* he was ſo diſpleaſed, that in a Fury he drew his Dagger, and ſaid, *It's better for a King of* France *to die thus.*——Upon which the Lord *Alarcon*, who was preſent, haſtily took the Dagger from him. After his Paſſion was a little abated, he ſwore, he would be a Captive all his Life, before he would accept of his Liberty upon thoſe Terms; yet, to ſhew he was not unwilling to make Conceſſions to his Enemies, he agreed, "to marry *Eleonora*, Queen Dowager of "*Portugal*, the Emperor's Siſter, and give the Duke "of *Bourbon* his Siſter, the Dutcheſs of *Alençon*, who "had lately loſt her Huſband: To hold the Dutchy "of *Burgundy* in Right of Queen *Eleanora*, and "leave it to their male Heirs: To reſtore to the "Duke of *Bourbon* all his confiſticated Eſtates: To "renounce all Claim to *Naples* and *Milan*: To ſa-"tisfy the King of *England* for what was due to him: "And to pay the ſame Ranſom as King *John*, "when

* This ſhews how right *England* was, in Reſpect to not parting with her Money, to aſſiſt in Conqueſts that the Emperor never intended ſhe ſhould ſhare in.

" when taken Priſoner at the Battle of *Poictiers*, " by the *Engliſh*."

But the Emperor was not ſatisfied with theſe Offers, he ſtill inſiſted, " That the Dutchy of *Burgundy* " ſhould be reſtored without Condition;" and affirmed, " That *Francis* had no Right to *Naples* nor " *Milan*, and therefore his Offer to relinquiſh it was " meerly chimerical."

By this Anſwer it appeared that *Francis* was not likely to gain his Liberty ſo ſoon as was expected: And the Emperor, finding more Difficulty than he apprehended, as to ſettling Matters with the captive King, ſent Direction to the Vice-roy of *Naples*, to conduct him into *Spain*; thinking that he ſhould thereby have a better Opportunity of making his own Terms.

King Francis *carried into* Spain.

The Vice-roy obeyed his Maſter, and ſet out with the King, who flattered himſelf, that he ſhould be uſed in *Spain*, as King *John* had been in *England*; but, on his Arrival, he had the Mortification to ſee himſelf confined in the Caſtle of *Madrid*: Yet, in other Reſpects, he was treated ſuitable to his Quality, being allowed the Liberty of Hunting, and other agreeable Diverſions: But theſe were not ſufficient to preſerve his Health; for he fell ſick, owing as it was ſuppoſed to the Anxiety of Mind he was under, upon Account of the Emperor's having not vouchſafed to make him a Viſit; thinking, that his Misfortune ought not to deprive him of the Honour due to a crowned Head.

The Emperor was alarmed at receiving Advice of the King's Illneſs, fearing, in Caſe of his Death, he ſhould loſe what he propoſed to gain from his Impriſonment, which puſhed him on to make the unfortunate King a Viſit; though contrary to the Opinion of his Chancellor, who told the Emperor, " He " could not go with Honour, unleſs he deſigned to

" grant

" grant the Captive King his Liberty, even with-
" out impoſing any Conditions on him; for other-
" wiſe his Viſit would not be interpreted as an Act
" of royal Kindneſs, but as proceeding from ſiniſter
" Views; ſo that the World would rather ſuppoſe
" him moved by private Intereſt, rather than any true
" Principles of Humanity."

The Emperor viſits him.

Theſe were noble and juſt Sentiments, becoming a wiſe and faithful Counſellor: But tho' the Emperor followed not his Chancellor's Advice, he made his royal Priſoner a Viſit. For, after the Ceremonial on both Sides was over, his Imperial Majeſty entreated the King to have a care of his Health, which he much deſired; but forbore entering into the Particulars of the King's preſent Condition; and only told him in general, " That
" his Buſineſs would ſucceed well," thereby giving him an Expectation of being ſpeedily ſet at Liberty; which Promiſe is difficult to reconcile with Sincerity, when we conſider the ſevere Conditions the Emperor afterwards impoſed on the unhappy King.

The *Spaniards*, in their Accounts of this Viſit, ſay, " That the Emperor, having been informed
" that the King's Life was in Danger, reſolved
" to viſit and comfort him, and accordingly ſet
" forward immediately, arrived at *Madrid* that Night,
" being the 28th of *September*, and went in his
" riding Habit to ſee the King, who ſeemed to be
" revived when they acquainted him with the
" Emperor's Arrival." Upon entering the Room that Prince took off his Hat, went directly to the Bedſide, and embraced the King, who raiſed himſelf up to receive him, ſaying, *Sir, here is your Slave. No*, replied the Emperor, *my good Brother and Friend at full Liberty. No*, ſaid the King, *I am your Slave:* And the Emperor rejoined again, *You are my Friend at full Liberty, and my good Brother.* After this they

they diſcourſed ſome time, and the Emperor adviſed him to be of good Comfort, to take Care of his Health, and be aſſured all Things ſhould go well. Then he withdrew to another Apartment in the Caſtle, and the King found himſelf much better. The next Day the Emperor gave him another Viſit, and Madam *Alençon* arrived at *Madrid*, being met at a ſmall Diſtance from that City by the Emperor, who conducted her to the King her Brother, where he left them together, after many kind Expreſſions of Friendſhip.

The Dutcheſs of Alençon waits on the King.

Our *Engliſh* Hiſtorians hint, That all the Inſtances, which the Dutcheſs of *Alençon* made on her Brother's Behalf, proved ineffectual; tho' there was probably another Motive, beſides that of Affection for him, which induced her to viſit the Court of *Spain*; for, having deſired the Emperor to give his Siſter *Eleanora* in Marriage to her Brother (notwithſtanding the Pretenſions of the Duke of *Bourbon* to that Princeſs) ſhe told his Imperial Majeſty, that ſhe doubted not but the King, her Brother, would take care to provide an equal Match for the Duke; which was underſtood as an Intimation, that herſelf was the Perſon.

At length, being unable to procure her Brother's Enlargement, ſhe determined to return to *France*; but, before that Princeſs ſet out, the King put into her Hands a Writing ſigned by himſelf, whereby he even ordered, that the States of *France* ſhould crown the Dauphin, his Son, King. This in *France* is called the Edict of *Madrid*; but the Parliament of *Paris* did not think fit to record it, either becauſe they adjudged it againſt the Laws of the Realm, or that ſuch an imperfect Edict could be of no Authority, ſince the King was not free. Very likely *Francis* deſigned to let the Emperor ſee, that, inſtead of having in his Power the King of a large Country, he run the Hazard of having a Prince without Dominions; and, in parti-

particular, when his Sifter took her Leave of him, gave an Inftance that the Magnanimity, which became an excellent Prince, was not, by his Misfortunes, defaced; that the Ideas of Honour, Glory, and Patriotifm for his Country, had not left him; charging the Dutchefs, without any Regard to his Perfon, whether his Deliverance might be effected or not, alive or dead, *That fhe fhould have ftrict Regard to the Intereſts and Dignities of the Crown of* France.

She returns to France without obtaining the King's Liberty.

The *Spaniards* intimate, that Madam *d'Alençon*, feeing that fhe was not likely to fucceed in her Negotiation, refolved to return home; but, vifiting her Brother for the laft Time, fhe concerted with him the making his Efcape, by difguifing himfelf like a Black that ufed to carry Wood into his Chamber, who was to be left in his Bed: But the Defign was difcovered to the Emperor by a *Frenchman* of the King's Bed-chamber, who had received an Affront from one of *Francis*'s Favourites, and took this Way to revenge himfelf. On which Care was taken to difappoint the King; and, no more being faid of it, the Dutchefs immediately returned to *France*. This Defign failing a new Negotiation was fet on foot, and the King was at laft brought to confent to reftore *Burgundy*, upon Conditions the Emperor gave him his Sifter *Eleanora* in Marriage, and with her certain Diftricts of Land: But nothing in particular was concluded before this Year expired.

The Duke of Bourbon arrives in Spain.

The Duke of *Bourbon*, finding that the Court of *England* was not willing to enter into his Views, after he had fettled Affairs at *Milan*, paffed into *Spain*, leaving the Marquis of *Pefcara* Commander in Chief in his Abfence. When the Duke arrived at *Madrid* he immediately waited on the Emperor, who received him with all poffible Demonftrations of Honour and Refpect: However, it was remarked, that the Court of

of *Spain* did not judge of his perſonal Qualities, by the Fortune that attended him, but conſidered him as a Traytor, and would not allow his Conqueſt, however advantageous to the Affairs of *Spain*, to obliterate his Diſloyalty, which appears from the Anſwer of a Grandee, when *Charles* the Vth demanded his Palace for the Uſe of the Duke of *Bourbon*, (during his Reſidence in *Madrid*) "That he ought not to deny "any thing to his Prince; but, ſo ſoon as *Bourbon* "was gone out of it, he would burn it as a Place "infected, and unworthy to be inhabited by a Man "of Honour."

There was ſomething of the *Spaniſh* Stiffneſs in this Reflection, which was not very complaiſant to his Maſter; "Yet the Sentiments of this Lord, "ſays *Fiddes*, were after all, in the Foundation, both "laudable and generous.

As the Vice-roy of *Naples* was the only Perſon intruſted to conduct the *French* King into *Spain*, the Duke of *Bourbon*, conceived a mortal Hatred againſt him, for that he imagined he aſſumed to himſelf the chief Honour of gaining the Victory; when as nothing was more certain, than that it was principally owing to *Bourbon*'s Conduct. In fine, the Enmity between theſe two Generals ſo viſibly appeared, that it was taken notice of by the whole Court; which cauſed the Emperor to interpoſe in the Matter, and calling the Duke and the Vice-roy of *Naples* into his Preſence, ſeemingly reconciled them, tho' in reality it was but ſuperficial.

Henry *the* VIIIth *ſends Ambaſſadors to the Emperor.*

The Succeſs of the Battle of *Pavia* made all the Courts of *Italy* extreamly uneaſy, becauſe the Emperor was left without a Rival, and in a Condition with his conquering Army to over-run it; nor was *England* leſs alarmed than the other Courts, which put our King upon ſending two experienced Miniſters into *Spain*, no

leſs Men than Dr. *Tunſtall*, Biſhop of *London*, and Sir *Richard Wingfield*, who were inſtructed to cloſely watch the Emperor's Actions, and learn how he ſtood affected towards his Majeſty, reſolving that his Diſpoſitions ſhould guide him, as to the Part he ſhould afterwards take. Their Inſtructions, drawn up by Cardinal *Wolſey*, were partly as follows:

" That, after the Ambaſſadors had preſented their " Letters of Credence from the King and the Cardinal, " under their own Hands, wherewith they were charged " to the Court of *Madrid*, and made their Congratu- " lations to the Emperor upon his Recovery from a " Quartan Ague, and for the late Victory obtained by " his Troops before *Pavia*, whereby the Ambition of " *Francis*, the common Enemy, was humbled, they " were to repreſent the advantageous Situation in which " the Affairs of the Alliance then were, towards obtain- " ing the proper and deſirable Ends; and how much " the Tranquillity of *Europe* depended upon their pre- " ſent Proceedings: To narrowly obſerve how the Em- " peror reliſhed ſuch general Overtures: That, if the " Emperor ſhould firſt deſire to know in particular " the King's Sentiments upon the Heads propoſed, " and what he intended to do towards proſecuting his " Claim to the Crown of *France*, they were

" Then to aſſert, as the Foundations of all the Coun- " ſels and Meaſures taken by the K. of *England*, his per- " manent Zeal for the Service of the true Religion, and " the great Concern he was under for the divided " State of *Chriſtendom*, which had occaſioned much " Devaſtation and Miſery in the *Chriſtian* World, " and given the *Turk* on the one hand an Opportunity " to extend his Conqueſts, and on the other had " contributed much to the Growth of the *Lutheran* " Hereſy: To obſerve, as the Arrogance and bound- " leſs Deſires of *Francis* was the principal Cauſe of " theſe Diſorders, his Captivity might be appointed by

" the

" the wiſe and good God, as a Means of healing " them, and of cauſing Religion again to flouriſh." [A Senſe of which we may obſerve by the way the Cardinal diſcovers in all his Writings, after ſo unaffected, but withal ſo lively a Manner, that he ever appears to ſpeak from the Heart.] " They were fur- " ther to repreſent, that if the preſent Opportuity " ſhould not be improved for compoſing the Divi- " ſions among the *Chriſtian* Princes, it might pro- " voke the Almighty to afflict *Chriſtendom* ſtill with " more numerous and dreadful Calamities: That the " Cauſe of thoſe they had already ſuffered, ought to " be examined into, and, if poſſible, removed, to the " End the Effects of them might ceaſe: That the " King and his Council were of Opinion, that the late " Wars, with the ill Conſequences attending them, " have been chiefly owing to the inſuperable Pride of " the Kings of *France*, to the Deſigns of which the Si- " tuation of that Kingdom renders it more favourable: " That the Proofs of this Charge appears, firſt, by " the Excluſion of the King of *England* from his juſt " Claim, who, as was notoriouſly known, had an in- " diſputable Title to the Crown of *France*; ſecondly, " from the unjuſt Detention, by *France*, of ſeveral " Countries belonging to the Emperor, as well as " of many Towns and Places diſmembered from " other Princes; and, laſtly, from their known At- " tempts upon *Milan* and *Naples*, and the Methods " taken by them to engage the *Venetians* and *Floren- " tines:* That there were no viſible Means of ſecuring " to the Emperor a juſt and peaceable Poſſeſſion of his " Territories, but by lowering the Power, and hum- " bling the Haughtineſs of *France*, which, perhaps in her " preſent Diſtreſs, may the more eaſily be brought to " Reaſon." [Tho' the Cardinal obſerves, and his Obſervation was juſtified by the Event,] " That whatever " Promiſe ſhould be made by *France*, in the Time

" of her King's Captivity, ſhe would not, when " at Liberty, fail to break it, at leaſt find one Pre- " tence or other for new Grounds of Quarrel, from " which no former Convention or Agreement could " have Power to reſtrain her; That, for this Reaſon, " it was further reſolved, by the King of *England* and " his Council, that the Reſtitution of all ſuch Places, " as had been uſurped by the Power of *France*, " ſhould be the only Means of removing the Ne- " ceſſity of carrying on War and Hoſtility in *Eu-* " *rope*."

Theſe Inſtructions run much further, as to ſeveral Matters in relation to King *Henry*'s enjoying the Crown of *France*, and excluding *Francis*, which not taking Effect, we purpoſely omit, and only take notice, that there are many Paſſages in the above Inſtructions, that plainly ſhew there could be no Treaty executed or ſubſiſting between the Courts of *England* and *France* at this Time, and, entirely refute the unjuſt Charge Mr. *Cavendiſh*, mentions concerning his Maſter.

The Ambaſſadors arrive in Spain.

After our Ambaſſadors were fully inſtructed in the Parts they were to act, they ſet out for and ſoon arrived at the Emperor's Court, where they did not meet with the Reception they reaſonably expected; and it was not long before theſe Miniſters diſcovered, that the Emperor had nothing but his own Intereſts in View, without any Regard to thoſe of their Maſter's, and they inſtantly informed the King of it, who thereon immediately determined to take other Meaſures, which lead us to attend the Affairs of *England* and *France* jointly.

Affairs of France and England. 1525.

When the People of *France*, who are naturally very devout and loving to their Kings, heard the diſmal News from all Quarters of *Italy* of the Loſs of the Army and

and of their Prince being taken Priſoner,* there ran thro' the whole Kingdom a general Aſtoniſhment and Confuſion: For, beſides the incredible Grief with which theſe two deplorable Accidents had overwhelmed the Country, there were very few of the Inhabitants but had loſt

* The Lady Regent is charged, by the *French* Hiſtorians with being the Occaſion of her Son's Impriſonment, and with having not a little contributed to the tragical End of his Miſtreſs; a ſhort Account whereof we ſhall here introduce.

The Counteſs of *Chateau brian* ſoon found herſelf expoſed to the Hatred of that Princeſs, after King *Francis* was ſet out for *Italy*; inſomuch, that, not knowing where to ſhelter herſelf, ſhe was forced to return to her Huſband at *Chateau-brian*, who, tho' he received her after a very odd Manner, ſtill by his Agents put her in Hopes, that ſhe might appeaſe him in Time. He refuſed at firſt to ſee her, but cauſed her to be ſhut up in a Chamber, which ſeemed to be deſigned for Penance, it being hung all in Mourning; yet he gave his Daughter, by that Time 17 Years of Age, leave to eat with her, nor could he forbear ſometimes after Dinner looking upon her, from a Place where ſhe could not ſee him, and comparing the growing Beauty of the one with that of the other, which was in the Height of its Perfection. This laſted not above ſix Weeks, becauſe the Daughter lived no longer: And now the Count, having loſt the only beloved Object that daily begged the other's Pardon, thought of nothing more than his Revenge. To perpetrate which he entered his Wife's Chamber, with ſix Men in Diſguiſe, and two Surgeons, who opened the unfortunate Lady's Veins in her Feet and Legs, and ſo left her to bleed to Death. The King hearing of this, at his Return, was for making Examples of the Guilty; but a ſecond Amour ſoon blotted out the Remembrance of the firſt. Nor was the Count forgetful of his own Safety; for, in order to prevent Juſtice laying hold of him, he retired out of *France*, and lived in foreign Countries, ſo long as the Houſe of *Foix* was in a Condition to proſecute him. At length, by the Means of one of the King's Favourites, he obtained his Pardon, upon executing to this Favourite a Deed of Gift of his Eſtate at *Chateau-brian*.

Some Criticks have pretended, that M. *de Varillas*, from whom we drew theſe Memorials, in Relation to *Francis* the Iſt's Amours with the Counteſs of *Chateau-brian*, was ill informed as to her tragical End; for that, as they ſay, ſhe did not die till ten Years after the King's Return: But theſe Objections are ſo well anſwered, that we make no Scruple to follow that famous Hiſtorian, in relating this Matter as we find it recorded by him.

loſt in the Battle their Parents, Children, or Brethren, which brought on an univerſal Deſolation and Deſpair, every one crying and lamenting the Diminution of the Authority and Glory of ſo flouriſhing a Kingdom; nay, they were ſo diſmayed, that they looked on it as the Forerunner of the total Ruin of their Nation; eſpecially as the King of *England* had publiſhed, "That, after Affairs ſucceeded in *Italy*, he would actually invade "*France*, and proceed thither in his Royal Perſon, "at the Head of a powerful Army:" Which might probably have been the Caſe, had *Henry* put his Threats in Execution, ſince *France* was in ſuch a low and unhappy Condition, having for her Regent only a Woman, the King's Children being very young, and the eldeſt not eight Years old. As for this Lady, however, though ſhe had very great Paſſions, was full of Ambition, and fond of Government, yet the preſent Diſaſters had a good Effect on her; for ſhe knew, if the King's Deliverance was put off for any long Time, and any new Troubles ſhould happen to *France*, ſhe ſhould be compelled to yield up the Adminiſtration unto ſuch Lords as ſhould be appointed by the general Voice of the People, which made her at this Time more than ordinarily to exert herſelf, for the neceſſary Defence and Preſervation of the Kingdom. In ſhort, notwithſtanding the great Confuſion the *French* were in, they at laſt, animated by her Example, and what followed, raiſed their drooping Spirits; and the firſt Point ſettled in Council, was to provide for the Defence of the frontier Towns, which Reſolution was immediately put in Execution. Next the Lady Regent wrote to the Emperor in very ſtrong Terms, in order to get her Son releaſed; and at the ſame time ſhe ſet at Liberty Don *Hugo de Moncada*, who had been for ſome time a Priſoner in *France*, and ſent him into *Spain*, with Powers to make ſeveral Propoſals to the Emperor on that Head. She alſo diſpatch-

patched Ambaſſadors into *Italy*, both to the Pope and the *Venetians*, praying them to aſſiſt her in ſolliciting her Son's Releaſe: And, if it could not be obtained by fair Means, ſhe offered to enter into a Treaty with them, and to raiſe an Army againſt the Emperor, for the better preſerving the Liberties of *Italy*; and, for making her Propoſals go down more eaſily, the Ambaſſadors were inſtructed to propoſe the advancing a conſiderable Sum of Money.

But what gave *France*, in her preſent unhappy State, the greateſt Conſolation, was the King of *England*'s declining his firſt Deſign, and not invading *France* as was expected, upon which the Peace of the the Country was preſerved. The Lady Regent then wrote a moſt reſpectful Letter to *Henry* the VIIIth, wherein ſhe declared, "That both the King, herſelf, "and the whole *French* Nation would eternally have "Reaſon to remember his Majeſty's Moderation;" and, at the ſame time imploring him to grant her his Aſſiſtance and Protection in this dangerous Seaſon; and, to her no ſmall Satisfaction, ſhe received the moſt generous Anſwer from his Majeſty, who expreſſed great Concern at the miſerable State *France* was reduced to, and, inſtead of taking Meaſures further to diſtreſs her, he ſignified to the Regent, "That "he was ready to receive Ambaſſadors from *France*, "by whoſe Negotiations the Differences between the two Nations very likely might be amicably compoſed.

The preſent Situation of Affairs made our Court ſeriouſly conſider the beſt Way to preſerve the Ballance of *Europe*, which leaned, as *Rapin* now admits, too much on the Emperor's Side; and the Equality of Power, between the Houſes of *France* and *Auſtria*, being what added to that of *England*, this was an Opportunity not to be neglected: Therefore ſeveral particular Reaſons were offered in Council,

cil, to induce the King to forſake the Emperor, and take part with *France*, which was well received by his Majeſty,* being quite agreeable to his own Sentiments.

The

* *Rapin* gives us an Account of the Reaſons that induced the King of *England* to take part with *France*, after *Francis* the Iſt was taken Priſoner at the Battle of *Pavia*, and (tho' not deſignedly, as appears in the Sequel) juſtifies the new Meaſures, that the Court of *England* was going to take. Theſe are his Words:

'Some Days after a Council 'was aſſembled, to conſider, 'what was to be done at this 'Juncture; the Queſtion was, 'Whether this Opportunity 'ſhould be embraced, to make 'Conqueſts in *France*, in pro'ſecuting the King's Title to 'that Kingdom? or, Whether 'it was more expedient to aſſiſt 'and preſerve *France*, and op'poſe the growing Power of the 'Houſe of *Auſtria*? As to the 'firſt Point, it is certain, if, on 'this Occaſion, *England* had 'ſtrictly united with the Empe'ror, and made vigorous Efforts 'on the Side of *Picardy*, *France*, 'in her *preſent Condition*, *would 'have been irrecoverably loſt*; 'for, inſtead of being able to 'withſtand the Arms of theſe 'two powerful Enemies, it was 'not poſſible for her to reſiſt 'the Emperor, without the King 'of *England*'s Aſſiſtance. But it 'was conſidered on the other 'hand,—That *France* could not 'be ruined, without making the 'Emperor too powerful.—That 'he was already in Poſſeſſion of '*Spain*, and had alſo an Eye 'upon *Portugal*, by marrying 'his Niece *Iſabella*, as it was 'publickly reported.—That his 'late Victory in *Milan* gave 'him ſuch a Superiority in *Italy*, 'that, probably, the Pope and 'the *Venetians* would not be able 'to make head againſt him.— 'That he poſſeſſed almoſt all the '*Low Countries*, with large and 'rich Provinces in *Germany*, not 'to reckon the Imperial Dignity, 'which was become as good as he'reditary in his Family.—That 'if, by a powerful Diverſion, an 'Opportunity was given him to 'conquer the *French* Provinces, 'bordering upon *Spain* and *Italy*, 'the moſt the King could ex'pect was to ſhare *France* with 'him: But it was to be feared, 'that afterwards the Emperor 'would become his Enemy, and 'the more formidable, as there 'would be no Proportion be'tween their Forces, nor any 'State in *Europe* capable of ſup'porting the Weakeſt.—That 'therefore, ſuppoſing the King 'had in *France* all the Succeſs he 'could wiſh, in aggrandizing 'himſelf in that Kingdom, he 'would only be involved for the 'future in an unequal War with 'the Emperor, who very pro'bably would never be ſatisfied, 'till he had diſpoſſeſſed the *Eng'liſh* of their Conqueſts.—That 'what

The Lady Regent in the mean time appointed the Lord of *Vaux*, Meſſ. *Brinan*, Preſident of *Roan*, Ambaſſadors from *France* to the Court of *England*; and their Commiſſion for this Truſt was dated at *Lyons*, *June* the 9th.

As

' what had paſſed between *Lewis* ' the XIIth and *Ferdinand*, in ' reſpect to the Kingdom of *Na-* ' *ples*, was a clear Evidence, how ' difficult it would be for ſuch ' Partitions long to ſubſiſt. (See ' Vol. 1. fol. 285, *&c.*)——That, ' upon all theſe Accounts, it was ' more for the Intereſt of *Eng-* ' *land*, to make a vigorous Ef- ' fort to ſupport *France*, and en- ' able her to be always a Bal- ' lance to the Houſe of *Auſtria*. ' ——That the Happineſs and ' Glory of *England* conſiſted in ' the Equality between the King ' of *France* and the Emperor, ' ſince thereby *England* would be ' always in a Condition to remain ' Arbiter of *Europe*; and make ' herſelf courted by both Sides.— ' That there was no other Way ' to cauſe Trade to flouriſh, where- ' in conſiſted all her Strength, ' and without which the *Eng-* ' *liſh* could never hope to ren- ' der themſelves formidable.—— ' That if, on the contrary, it ' was reſolved to compleat the ' Deſtruction of *France*, and a ' War ſhould afterwards happen ' with the Emperor, of which ' there was great Probability, at ' once would be loſt the Trade ' of *France*, *Spain*, *Italy*, *Flan-* ' *ders*, and *Germany*, which would ' quickly reduce *England* to ex- ' treme Poverty.—That at leaſt ' it would thereby be out of her ' Power to have Land and Sea ' Forces ſufficient to balance the ' Emperor's Power.—In ſhort, ' if *France* came to be divided ' between the Emperor and the ' King, *Scotland* would certainly ' join in Alliance with the Em- ' peror, and continue to annoy ' *England* by frequent Diverſi- ' ons, as ſhe had always done ' in favour of *France*.—To theſe ' Conſiderations, another of ' greater Weight was added, ' namely, that a League with ' the Emperor to conquer *France* ' was not the ſame Thing as ours ' with the Regent in Defence ' of that Kingdom.—That in ' the firſt the Emperor's ſole ' Aim would be to make the ' *Engliſh* Forces ſerve to enable ' him to puſh his Conqueſts elſe- ' where. But at the ſame Time ' he would oppoſe directly or ' indirectly the King's Increaſe ' of Power, as it was the uſual ' Policy of Princes, when they ' joined with thoſe weaker than ' themſelves.—*That it was the* ' *leſs doubtful, that the Emperor* ' *would follow that Maxim, as* ' *even before the Battle of* Pavia ' *he had ſhewn, that he conſider-* ' *ed the King only as his Inſtru-* ' *ment to promote his Deſigns in* ' Italy. But if the King joined ' with *France*, the two Allies, ' having the ſame View, would, ' as is uſual in defenſive Leagues, ' act

England *and* France *enter into new Treaties.*

As ſoon as theſe Ambaſſadors arrived in *England*, Cardinal *Wolſey* was impowered to treat with them. In the Courſe of the Negotiations they ſoon found they ſhould have occaſion for more particular Powers to ſettle the Sums due from the King of *France* to the King of *England*, which conſiſted of ſeveral Articles to be put into one, according to *Henry*'s Intention. Theſe new Powers were diſpatched the 16th of *Auguſt*; and on ſuch an extraordinary Emer-

act unanimouſly.—That on the other hand, in the preſent Juncture, *France*, not being able to ſupport herſelf without the Aſſiſtance of *England*, would readily accept ſuch Terms as ſhould be impoſed upon her; which was an Advantage more real and certain, than any to be expected from the Invaſion of that Kingdom. In a Word, nothing could be more glorious for the King than to relieve *France* in her Diſtreſs, and free her captive King.—That by ſo doing he would truly acquire the Title of *Arbiter and Deliverer of* Europe, and make the King of *France* a Friend, who would probably eternally remember this Favour.

'Theſe were the Reaſons that induced the King and Council to take part with *France*; they were perfectly agreeable to the King's and the Cardinal's Inclinations;" [and we believe for once they were likewiſe agreeable to Monſieur's] 'and to the Meaſures they were going to take.' [But that *Rapin* might not leave this without ſome Reflection, hear him again] 'The only Buſineſs was to ſeek a Pretence to break with the Emperor, by throwing upon him the Blame of the Rupture. This is a Thing to which Princes are very attentive; when they wage ever ſo unjuſt Wars, they would perſuade the World, that Juſtice and Equity are on their Side, without any Motive of Envy, Jealouſy, Ambition and Avarice.—The War *Henry* was meditating againſt the Emperor, as we have ſeen, was wholly founded upon Policy, and that would have been ſufficient to juſtify it; but he choſe rather to ground it *upon the pretended Injuries* received from the Emperor. The Reaſon of this Conduct is evident: it ſeldom happens that Policy and Equity agree, and *Henry*, like moſt Princes, had rather been counted a great Politician, than an *honeſt Man*." (Very extraordinary to treat Princes in this Manner! But was it, Monſieur, *pretended Injuries*, when it appears plain, that the Emperor broke his Engagements with the King, *and thought only to make him the Inſtrument to promote his Deſigns?*)

Emergency, the *French* Ambaſſadors had ſtrictly (according to the Account of all Hiſtorians) nothing to do but to comply with the King of *England*'s Pleaſure; but, allowing that to be the Caſe, Monſ. *Rapin* with the other *French* Writers admit it cannot be denied, that on this Occaſion *Henry* behaved with uncommon Generoſity, tho' he might have demanded Towns, and even Provinces, in Return for the Friendſhip he was pleaſed to contract with *Francis*, and for the Charges that were likely to enſue; yet he contented himſelf with the Sums juſtly due to him, and directly entered into five Treaties with *France*, which were ſigned at *More*, a Houſe of the King's in the County of *Hertford*, on the 10th of *Auguſt*.

First Treaty.

The *firſt* was defenſive againſt all Powers, Spiritual and Temporal that ſhould in any reſpect attempt to invade either of the two Kingdoms; and the Allies of the two Kings were included by Name, but with this Limitation, that the Article was not to be underſtood of thoſe who had uſurped any thing upon either of the two principal Contractors, (ſince the League concluded at *London*, *October* the 1ſt, 1518) by which the Emperor was excluded. *Henry* likewiſe engaged to uſe his beſt Endeavours to procure the Liberty of *Francis*.

Second Treaty.

The *ſecond* concerned the Payment of the Sums due to *Henry* from the King of *France*.

Third Treaty.

By the *third*, the Lady Regent engaged to pay to *Mary*, Dowager of *France*, King *Henry*'s Siſter, all the Arrears of her Dowry, at ſeveral Payments; and that ſhe ſhould conſtantly enjoy her Dowry for the future.

Fourth Treaty.

The *fourth* ſtipulated, that the King of *Scotland* ſhould be reckoned in the Number of the Allies of *France*, on Condition the *Scots* commited no Acts of Hoſtility againſt *England*, after the 25th of *December* then next.

Fifth Treaty. Laſtly, by the *fifth*, it was agreed, that the Court of *France* ſhould not conſent, either directly or indirectly, that the Duke of *Albany* ſhould return to *Scotland*, during the Minority of *James* the Vth.

Theſe ſeveral Treaties were confirmed with Oaths by the Regent of *France* in *October*, and *Francis* the Iſt ſent a Ratification thereof under his own Hand, dated the 27th of *December*.

" But after having done the King's Affairs (ſays " *Rapin*) *Wolſey* forgot not himſelf. There is in the " Collection of the Publick Acts the Regent's Bond " of the 18th of *November*, to pay the Cardinal the " Arrears of the Penſion granted him, in lieu of the " Adminiſtration of the Biſhoprick of *Tournay*, being " 4 Years and an half. Moreover, ſhe declared that, " for ſeveral other weighty Reaſons, there was due " to the Cardinal 100,000 Crowns of Gold. Theſe " two Sums were to be paid in 7 Years, by half-" yearly Payments."

The defenſive League between *England* and *France* being thus concluded and ſigned, the Regent began to be a little more at Eaſe, and the better able to diſpute the King her Son's Liberty; beſides, ſhe had Reaſon to hope the King of *England*'s Declarations would help to determine the Pope and *Venetians* to act openly in favour of *France*, whoſe Fears alone hindered them before from forming a League againſt the Emperor.

But before the Concluſion of theſe Treaties, new Inſtructions were ſent to our Ambaſſadors in *Spain*, to ſignify to the Emperor, as the War had been carried on partly at the Expence of the King, it was reaſonable his Majeſty ſhould partake of the Fruits of the Victory of *Pavia*; that therefore, purſuant to their Alliance, it ſhould be ſtipulated in the Treaty with the captive King, that *Henry* ſhould be reſtored

to

to what belonged to him in *France:* Alſo, as it was ſettled by the Treaty of *Windſor*, that the two Allies ſhould mutually deliver up all Uſurpers upon each other's Rights, *Henry* required, that the captive King ſhould be delivered to him.

To theſe Remonſtrances the Emperor replied in general Terms, "That he would not deliver the "*French* King into *Henry*'s Hands, alledging, that "then he ſhould part with the Advantages he ex- "pected to gain from his Victory at *Pavia*." As ſoon as the King had received this Anſwer the Treaties we have been ſpeaking of were concluded between *England* and *France*, which the Emperor hearing of recalled his Ambaſſador, as *Henry* likewiſe did his.

The Court of *England*, on this Turn of Affairs, thought proper to publiſh her Reaſons for being ſo diſſatisfied with the Emperor, which were briefly theſe: "That "the Governeſs of the *Low Countries*, inſtead of "providing for the War, had privately treated with "*France:* That the Emperor had not paid the Sum "due from him: That, in the Terms on which he "had offered to releaſe the King of *France*, he had "but ſlightly mentioned the King of *England:* That "he was now treating of a Marriage with *Iſabella* of "*Portugal*, in Contempt of the Princeſs *Mary*, to "whom he was contracted. Laſtly, as the *Turks* were "about to invade *Chriſtendom*, it was neceſſary that "all *Chriſtian* Princes ſhould unite againſt them, "which could not be effected without a general "Peace." However, *Henry* did not think fit juſt at this Juncture to proclaim War againſt the Emperor.

Further Account of the Affairs of Italy. 1525.

During theſe Tranſactions the Pope and the Emperor at times ſeemed inclinable to agree together, and at other times the Holy Father expreſſed his Willingneſs to join in a League with the *Venetians*, and the other

other States, to oppoſe the Emperor's growing too great in *Italy*; to which they were induced through the haughty Behaviour of the *German* Generals, apprehending now their Liberties in Danger.

And here we muſt obſerve, that, notwithſtanding the Emperor's Generals had obtained ſuch a glorious Victory, they were greatly embarraſſed for want of Money to pay their Troops; for, though they had got ſo great Booty, and had received a Supply from *Florence*, yet they ſo oddly diſpoſed of the Army, that they were obliged to diſband Part thereof. As to their Maſter, he ſoon ſhewed by his Actions what he further deſigned, particularly in the Caſe of *Franciſco Sforza*, Duke of *Milan*, who expected to have had the Inveſtiture of that Dutchy delivered to him, according to Agreement, for which he had applied, and the Emperor ſeemed at firſt willing to grant: The Terms, the Duke was to perform before it was to be delivered to him, were diſpatched accordingly; but when they came to be read, he found it impracticable to comply with them; ſo that they were ſoon ſent back; and it afterwards appeared that the Emperor had no Deſign to part with the *Milaneſe*.

Charles the Vth acted with no greater Sincerity with the Pope; tho' he outwardly courted his Friendſhip with Eagerneſs, and even entered into a Treaty with him, negotiated by the Vice-roy of *Naples*, but delayed ratifying it for a conſiderable Time: However, he at laſt ſent it, without including the three ſeparate Articles, of the utmoſt Conſequence to the Pope, which made his Holineſs refuſe to accept of the Ratification, and to break off for that Time any further treating with him. Yet the Emperor, from his Negotiations with the Pope, reaped this Advantage, he obſtructed the concluding the League which was projecting againſt him, by rendering the Holy Father's Conduct ſuſpected by the reſt of the Sovereigns in *Italy*.

Theſe

These Negotiations between the Pope and the Emperor had not been long at a ſtand, before his Holineſs heard the diſagreeable News, that the Council of *Spain* was not favourable to him; and he was otherways extreamly embarraſſed by attempting to manage too artfully, having thereby made ſo many falſe Steps, that he knew not which Way to turn himſelf. But this is frequently the Caſe of thoſe who quit the great Road to walk through By-ways.

The Conduct of the Venetians, *&c.*

The wiſe *Venetians*, who had, from the Misfortunes they had formerly gone thro', learnt to avoid becoming, if poſſible, Principals in a War, yet they were equally alarmed with the other Powers at the growing Greatneſs of the Emperor, and ſent Miniſters to the different Courts of *Europe*, to ſound how far they ſtood affected towards them; one of whom arriving in *England*, he brought a Letter from *Andrew Gritti*, Doge of *Venice*, addreſſed to Cardinal *Wolſey*, (now extant in the publick Acts) wherein he informs him, "That the Miniſter's "Inſtructions were to treat with the King of *England* "upon a very important Affair;" which, conſidering the Time, could mean nothing leſs than forming a League againſt the Emperor.

Soon after a Matter happened, that fully convinced the World of *Charles*'s real Deſign of amuſing all the Sovereigns of *Europe* by a feigned Moderation; when, in Truth, he was ſolely thinking of extending his Dominions: For, if we reflect in regard to his League with *Adrian* the VIth, and the reſt of the States of *Italy*, we ſhall perceive it was founded upon this expreſs Condition, *Franciſco Sforza*'s Reſtoration to the Dutchy of *Milan*, with which by what he had lately inſiſted on, it was evident he never intended to comply with.

This

This the Marquis of *Peſcara* alſo diſcovered on the following Occaſion: All of a ſudden he was very much diſſatisfied with the Emperor's Uſage, and even publickly charged that Prince with Ingratitude, who carried his Diſſimulation ſo far, as to inſpire the Duke of *Milan*'s Chancellor with the Boldneſs to propoſe to *Peſcara* a Scheme to drive the *Spaniards* out of the *Milaneſe*; who ſeemed to hearken to his Inſinuations, and had ſeveral Conferences with him on that Head, and managed ſo dexterouſly, that the Chancellor believed him in earneſt; who therefore prevailed on his Maſter to ſpeak to *Peſcara* about the Affair. The Chancellor's Project was no leſs than that of killing all the *Spaniards* in the Dutchy, and to make *Peſcara* King of *Naples*: But, as this could not be effected without foreign Aid, *Peſcara* propoſed to engage the Pope, the Regent of *France*, and the *Venetians* in the Plot: Accordingly, theſe three Powers came into it, and promiſed Aſſiſtance, when Matters were thought to be ripe for Execution. The pretended Plot was diſcovered; *Peſcara*, according to the Emperor's Directions, immediately diſpoſſeſſed the Duke of *Milan* of as many Parts of his Dutchy under his Obedience as he poſſibly could, beginning firſt with ſiezing on the Duke's Chancellor, and the Duke in fact was not able to reſiſt; ſo that he reſigned the City of *Milan*, and all the reſt of the Towns in his Poſſeſſion, ſave the Caſtle of *Milan*, which *Sforza* refuſed to deliver up. *Peſcara* upon this made no Bones of the Matter, but beſieged it in Form. By this Stratagem the Emperor had a plauſible Colour for rendering himſelf Maſter of the Dutchy, depriving at the ſame time the Pope and *Venetians* of the Opportunity of complaining, inaſmuch as there were evident Proofs, that they themſelves were concerned in the Plot. All this was tranſacted in *Dec.* 1525, but *Peſcara* died before the Year expired.

The

The Marquis of *Pescara*, at his Death, was only 36 Years of Age, yet he was old in Experience, ingenious, resolute, circumspect, and crafty: Much esteemed by the *Spanish* Infantry, which he had for a considerable Time commanded, and to whom the Honour of the late Victory and other memorable Actions were by many greatly ascribed. He was a brave Captain, grave, and knew how to colour such Designs as were to be dissembled with an artful Grace; witness the Plot we have just mentioned. *Guicciardin* says, "He was proud, deceitful, and ill-natured." Be that as it will, his Death put the *Spanish* Army in Confusion, and gave hopes to the new Alliance, which before the Year expired was again set on foot against the Emperor, with a very fair Prospect of Success.

Affairs of Scotland. 1525.

Though the Affairs of *Europe* took a new Turn on the Battle of *Pavia*, and the *French* King's Captivity, there was but little Alteration in those of *Scotland*; except that the Earl of *Angus*, who was to hold the Administraion but four Months, did not think fit to resign when his Time was expired, whereupon the Earl of *Argyle* withdrew greatly dissatisfied; but the Earl of *Lenox*, tho' likewise displeased, still remained at Court. The Queen and the Earl of *Arran*, who had been dispossessed, were not unmindful of their Affairs; the Earl of *Lenox*'s Discontent giving them room to hold Intelligence with him, they persuaded him to instil into the King, a Desire of being freed from the Earl of *Angus*: But, as there was a Necessity for great Precaution to deceive that Lord's Vigilance, it was not till the next Year that the King found an Opportunity to attempt the Execution of his Design.

In the Beginning of the Year the Court of *Scotland* had sent Ambassadors to *England*, at the Head whereof was the Earl of *Cassils*, to treat of their

King's Marriage with the Princeſs *Mary*; but, as ſeveral Difficulties occurred, the Truce, which was to expire the 26th of *January*, was prolonged to the 23d of *March*, to give the Earl of *Caſſils* Time to take a Journey to *Scotland* for new Inſtructions. Mean while it was not poſſible to conclude any thing, becauſe *Henry* had changed his Mind in reſpect to giving his only Daughter and Heir to the King of *Scotland*; and indeed it does not appear what Advantage could be reaped from it, inaſmuch as he intended to join with *France*, and therefore could have nothing to fear from the *Scots*.

Affairs of Ireland. 1525.

After the Earl of *Deſmond*'s Eſcape, the Earl of *Kildare* and *Cor. O Neale* invaded *Tyrconnel*; but, on Notice that *Hugh O Neale* was up in Arms in *Tyrone*, they ſettled a Peace with *O Donel*, who had been a great Diſturber of the publick Tranquillity, and thereupon they turned all their Forces againſt the ſaid *Hugh*, whom they totally defeated in Battle, wherein himſelf was killed, after which the publick Peace was in ſome meaſure reſtored.

This Year a moſt cruel Murder was committed by *Maurice Cavenaugh*, Archdeacon of *Leighlin*, upon his Dioceſan, Dr. *Maurice Doran*, at *Glanreynold*, for which he was hanged and his Bowels burnt.

It was alſo remarkable for the Plague's raging in ſeveral Parts about *Dublin*, which carried off abundance of Perſons, owing, as it was ſaid, to a hot Summer and a wet Autumn; however, it partly ceaſed before the End of *December*.

The Cardinal founds his College at Oxford. 1525.

The attending to the different Affairs of *Europe*, the Events of which were very ſurpriſing this Year, did not ſo wholly take up Cardinal *Wolſey*'s Time, as to hinder his Endeavours for the further Encouragement of Learning, and of leaving a laſting Monu-

ment

ment to Poſterity of his Zeal for the ſame, in the Place where he had received his early Improvements therein; and, having got Things in Readineſs for putting in Execution what he had propoſed, he ſent Dr. *Longland*, Biſhop of *Lincoln*, to *Oxford*, in the Quality of his Orator, who, being received on his Arrival in a full Convocation, diſcloſed to that learned Body, in a florid Speech, "The Cardinal's Intention of building "a College with all convenient Expedition, accord- "ing to the Plan which he had communicated to "them: That his principal Thoughts were taken "up in concerting proper Meaſures for endowing "the ſame with ſuch Revenues as ſhould afford an "handſome Maintenance for two hundred Scholars "and ſeven Lecturers; and that, as they had, upon "many Occaſions, placed an entire Truſt and Con- "fidence in his Eminency, he deſired nothing more "than to render his Service on all Occaſions ac- "ceptable to the Univerſity: That the Cardinal's "chief Study was to promote the Intereſt thereof, "ſo as to make it the moſt celebrated and flouriſh- "ing Seminary of Learning in the World: And, "that he might have an Opportunity of teſtifying "his benevolent Deſigns towards them in Perſon, "the Biſhop aſſured the Univerſity, that the Cardi- "nal propoſed to attend the King and Queen to *Ox- "ford*, about the Beginning of *Lent*; and that he "would not return before he had given ſome me- "morable Proof of his Eſteem and Affection for that "venerable Body;" who received theſe Aſſurances with the higheſt Approbation, and ſhewed their Grati- tude by ſeveral publick and private Teſtimonies; and which, with Pleaſure we can ſay, length of Time hath not obliterated.

Biſhop *Longland*, having diſcharged his Commiſſion, took Leave of the Univerſity, and returned to *London*, highly ſatisfied with the Treatment he had met with.

Dr. *Fiddes* takes notice, "That the Cardinal's continual and great Benefactions to the Univerſity "were, in themſelves, highly commendable and "praiſe-worthy. That, therefore, the great Qualities, "which that learned Body extol in him, were ſuch "as were acknowledged by the whole World: And "that, notwithſtanding they ſpeak of him in very "high Strains of Eloquence and Admiration, yet "they confined themſelves to ſuch of his Talents or "Actions, as the Circumſtances they were in, and the "Relation they had to him, rendered it proper for "them to celebrate. But had they thought fit to de"ſcend to ſuch Parts of his Character or Conduct, "wherein they were leſs concerned, certainly their "Teſtimony ought, upon many Occaſions, to have "had more Weight, than all the other Hiſtorians, "who have tranſmitted Memoirs of this great Man "to us; eſpecially ſuch of them, whether more an"tient or modern, as appears to have been written "with a *Byaſs* in general, or from ſome particular "Motives of Prejudice againſt the Cardinal."

Whilſt the Biſhop was proceeding to *London*, and after his Arrival there, the Heads of the Univerſity held ſeveral Conſultations, how they ſhould receive and entertain the King and Queen, and what Appointments they ſhould make concerning the Orations to be ſpoken, and the Exerciſes to be performed on that Occaſion: And, to make the Appearance of the Scholars ſtill more numerous, ſpecial Orders were iſſued out to recal ſuch of them as were abſent in the Country.

But when they had made Preparations with much Care and Solemnity, and at no little Expence, for the Reception of the Court, with a particular View of ſhewing their Veneration for the Cardinal, a Peſtilence ſuddenly raged, which obliged both the Heads and the Members of the Univerſity to withdraw; for which Reaſon their Majeſties Tour to *Oxford* was laid aſide.

Yet

To the Reverend
D.D. Deane of
Christ Church Oxford.
This View of Cardinal
Inscribed by his most

JOHN CONYBEARE
Christ Church Oxford.
College is humbly
Obed.t humble Serv.t
Joseph Grove.

Yet Cardinal *Wolſey* ſtill proceeded in founding a magnificent Structure, by the Name of CARDINAL COLLEGE. At the ſame time he propoſed the Building of another Structure at *Ipſwich*, the Place of his Birth, for teaching *Grammar*, and qualifying young Scholars for his College at *Oxford*, of which we ſhall ſpeak hereafter.

The Original of the Foundation at *Oxford* was this: The Priory of St. *Frideſwide* being diſſolved, was delivered up and ſurrendered into the King's Hands, at the Cardinal's Inſtance, by Prior *John Burton*, the Convent aſſenting thereunto; whereupon King *Henry* immediately gave the ſame to the Cardinal, for the Building of his intended College. This Priory had had the fickle Fate of often changing its Maſters, under a Series of various Fortune, for 800 Years.

The Cardinal ſoon obtained Bulls from the Pope, to ſupport and confirm what the King had granted; and proper Authorities, both from the See of *Rome* and the King, for diſſolving ſeveral ſmall Monaſteries, ſituate in different Parts of *England*, in order to apply their reſpective Revenues for the Support and Maintenance of his intended College. Then a Patent was made out, directing the College to be built on the Scite of St. *Frideſwide*'s Priory, and his Deſigns of the whole Building was curious and magnificent, which, doubtleſs, if the Cardinal had lived to have executed, few Royal Palaces would have exceeded; nor would the Library have been ſhort of the Nobleneſs of the Structure; and it alſo appears, by the Draught of the Statutes ſent to the Society under his Hand and Seal, there were to have been a Dean and Sub-dean, ſixty Canons of the firſt Rank, and forty of the ſecond; thirteen Chaplains, twelve Clerks and Choriſters, beſides Lecturers and Profeſſors in *Divinity*, the *Canon* and *Civil Law*, *Phyſick*, *Philoſophy*, *Logick*, and *Humanity*; four Cenſors of Manners and Examiners of the Progreſs and Proficiency

ency of the Students; three Treaſurers, four Stewards, and twenty inferior Servants, in all one hundred and eighty-ſix: Laſtly, there was a Revenue ſettled for the Entertainment of Strangers, the Relief of the Poor, and the keeping of Horſes for the College Buſineſs: And, for the Maintenance of the whole, the Carnal was impowered to purchaſe an Eſtate of 2000 *l. per Ann. ultra Reprizes* and all other Burthens whatſoever, and to convey the ſame to the Society for ever; and the Deed directed, that the College ſhould be dedicated to the Praiſe, Honour, and Glory of the *Holy Trinity*, the bleſſed Virgin *Mary*, St. *Frideſwide*, and *All Saints*.

The Time being come for laying the Foundation, Dr. *Longland*, Biſhop of *Lincoln*, at the Cardinal's particular Requeſt, (as the publick Affairs would not permit him to be there in Perſon) came to *Oxford*, attended by a great Retinue, and on the 20th of *March*, in the Preſence of the Biſhop, the Heads of the Univerſity, and a great Number of Students of all Degrees, the firſt Stone was laid, (and according to Cuſtom, Pieces of Money were laid under it) on which was the following Inſcription:

REVERENDISSIMUS, IN CHRISTO PATER ET DOMINUS, THOMAS WOLSEY, MISERATIONE DIVINA, TITULI SANCTÆ CECILIÆ, SACROSANCTÆ ROMANÆ ECCLESIÆ PRESBITER CARDINALIS; EBORACEN' ARCHIEPISCOPUS, ANGLIÆ PRIMAS, ET APOSTOLICÆ SEDIS LEGATUS; EPISCOPUS DUNELMENSIS, EXEMPTUSQ; MONASTERII SANCTI ALBANI PERPETUUS COMMENDATARIUS; CANCELLARIUS ANGLIÆ, AC DICTÆ SEDIS APOSTOLICÆ, AD VITAM SUAM, ETIAM DE LATERE LEGATUS, HANC PETRAM POSUIT IN HONOREM SANCTÆ ET INDIVIDUÆ TRINITATIS, GLORIOSISSIMÆ VIRGINIS MARIÆ, SANCTÆ FRIDISVIDÆ, ET OMNIUM SANCTORUM, 20 DIE MARTII, ANNO DOMINI MDXXV.

Thus

Thus in *Engliſh*,

The moſt Reverend Father in Chriſt, Lord Thomas Wolſey, *by divine Clemency and Title of* St. Cecile, *of the moſt holy Church of* Rome, *Cardinal Prieſt; Archbiſhop of* York, *Primate of* England, *and Legate from the Apoſtolick See; Biſhop of* Durham, *exempt and perpetual Commendatory of the Monaſtery of* St. Albans; *Chancellor of* England, *and of the ſaid Apoſtolick See Legate a Latere for Life, laid this Stone in Honour of the* moſt Holy and undivided Trinity, *the bleſſed Virgin* Mary, *St.* Frideſwide, *and of all Saints, on the* 20*th Day of* March, *in the Year of our Lord* 1525.

After a ſolemn Speech on the Occaſion, the Univerſity proceeded to St. *Frideſwide*'s Church, and heard a *Latin* Sermon, which was preached by the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, from theſe Words, *Wiſdom hath built her ſelf an Houſe*, Prov. ix. 1. When the Sermon was ended, the Company were magnificently entertained by the Biſhop with a grand Dinner, provided at the Cardinal's Expence. The next Day his Lordſhip took Leave of the Univerſity, and returned to *London*; where he waited on the Cardinal, and reported what had been tranſacted, with which his Eminency was highly pleaſed.

The firſt Step taken in the Building was, the Workmen pulled down the Weſt Side of the Cloiſters, at the Weſt End of the Church belonging to the Priory, *viz.* almoſt half the *Nave* of the Church, together with the Chambers contiguous to, or over them. They alſo pulled down a certain Hôtel, called the *London College*, and dedicated to the Study of the *Civil Law*. *

After

* The Workmen, in carrying on this grand Undertaking, ſoon built the Kitchen, which gave a handle to *Ralph Walters*, one of the then Students at *Oxford*, upon ſeeing that that was the firſt Part finiſhed, to make this Jeſt, *Egregium opus Cardinalis, iſte inſtituit Collegium, abſolvit Popinam.*

After the Building had been carrying on for ſome time, the Cardinal obtained from the King, a particular Grant of Privileges for his College, the like unknown before; and though that is out of the Queſtion, yet, as it ſhews the high Eſteem the Cardinal was in, and at the ſame time ſpeaks his generous Care of this Foundation, it induces us here to introduce a Tranſlation of ſeveral material Clauſes thereof:* And thoſe who are for peruſing the whole in

* GRANTS *made to the aforementioned College.*

The King to the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, &c. greeting.

"WE have conceived ſuch "an Opinion, and a "true Knowledge of Sciences, "in which we have been con"firmed by many Examples, as "well ſeen as heard, that to this "our Kingdom, which flouriſhes "above all others with the valu"able Gifts of Nature, we judge "no other more illuſtrious Or"nament can be added, than "that the beſt Capacities among "the Country Youth, being "weaned from their Rawneſs, "ſhould be poliſhed by ſound "Doctrine from their tender "Years, and reliſh thoſe Arts "early, and be familiar with "them, which are the Seeds of "Virtue and Probity.

"Whereas, therefore, the moſt "Reverend Father in Chriſt, "*Thomas*, by divine Permiſſion, "Cardinal Prieſt, *&c.* hath admi"niſtered the Charges, of all the "Affairs committed to him by "us, with the utmoſt Fidelity, "Diligence and Prudence, to the "greateſt Advantage of the Pub"lick and of us, in which he "underwent incredible Pains, "and out of his Love and Zeal "for his Country hath erected, "founded, and endowed not with "leſs Expences, with our Au"thority and Conſent, in our "Virgin Academy of *Oxford*, "commonly called the CARDI"NAL COLLEGE, to be a fruit"ful Seminary in Time to come, "in this our Kingdom for Learn"ing, Virtue, Morality, and "propagating the *Chriſtian* Re"ligion. We judge this a fa"vourable Opportunity for us, "which we can in no reſpect "neglect, to ſhew our Regard, "as well out of our Love for "Learning, to the ſaid College, "as to the moſt Reverend Fa"ther in Chriſt for his good Of"fices done to us and our King"dom, by granting a moſt am"ple Conceſſion of Privileges, "Liberties, and Immunities, as "a certain moſt renowned Te"ſtimony to Poſterity, beſides our "Conceſſions heretofore granted "to the ſame moſt Reverend "Father in Chriſt, and the ſaid "College.

"Know ye, therefore, that we, "out of our ſpecial Grace, have "given and granted, by this our "Charter have confirmed, for "ourſelves and our Heirs, to our "beloved in Chriſt, the Dean "and Canons of the College of

* *Thomas*

in the original *Latin*, may find it in Dr. *Fiddes*'s Collection in his *Life of the Cardinal.*

As

'*Thomas Wolſey*, Cardinal of '*York*, in our Virgin Academy, 'or Univerſity of *Oxford*, commonly called *Cardinal College*, and to their Succeſſors, 'that they and their Succeſſors, 'and Farmers holding of them, 'wholly and not wholly, reſiding and not reſiding, and others whoſoever reſiding in 'any of the Lordſhips, Lands, 'Tenements, Fiefs, and Poſſeſſions to them already granted, 'or that for the future ſhall be 'conferred upon them, be free 'and exonerated for ever from 'all manner of Supplies to be 'given to our firſt-born Sons, 'or to thoſe of our Heirs and 'Succeſſors to be knighted, or 'to our firſt-born Daughters, or 'thoſe of our Heirs and Succeſſors to be married.

'We have alſo given and 'granted to the aforeſaid Dean 'and Canons, and their Succeſſors, that neither they or 'their Succeſſors ſhall in any 'manner by us, our Heirs, or 'Succeſſors, or by the Metropolitans of our Kingdom of '*England*, or other Diocefan 'Biſhops, or Ordinaries of the 'ſaid Kingdom, or others whomſoever, be made or deputed 'Collectors of any Tenths, or 'Part of Tenths, or Contributions whatſoever granted to us, 'our Heirs, or Succeſſors, on 'our Clergy, by the Pope, but 'that they be totally exempted 'therefrom; and that neither 'they, or their Succeſſors, Farmers holding of them, reſiding 'and not reſiding, or the others 'aforementioned reſiding, be for 'the future reputed Appraiſers, 'Aſſeſſors, or Collectors, of any 'Supplies, Subſidies, Contributions, Duties, or Fifths of 'Tenths, or of any other Quota 'or Tally, or any Supplies for 'our firſt-born Sons, or thoſe 'of our Heirs and Succeſſors to 'be knighted, or for our firſt-born Daughters, or thoſe of 'our Heirs and Succeſſors to be 'married, or of any other Tax 'or Contribution whatſoever to 'be granted by the Community 'of our aforeſaid Kingdom, but 'that they remain totally eaſed 'and exempted from them for 'ever.

'And further, out of our 'more bountiful Grace, we have 'granted for ourſelves, our 'Heirs, and Succeſſors, to the 'ſaid Dean and Canons, and 'their Succeſſors for ever, to 'have and hold all the Pleas, 'Diſputes, Complaints, Demands, as well as Actions 'real, perſonal, and mixed, 'whatſoever, within the Lordſhips, *&c.* which they now 'poſſeſs, or that henceforth ſhall 'be given unto them and their 'Succeſſors, and to have Cognizance of all the Pleas of 'Tranſgreſſions, Conventions, 'Debts and Contracts whatſoever, in the ſaid Lordſhips, *&c.* 'however made or ſtarted, as 'well in our Preſence, and that 'of our Heirs and Succeſſors, as 'in

As soon as some of the Chambers of the new *College* were got ready to receive the Students, Bishop

• in our own Absence, or that
• of our Heirs and Successors,
• with all the Profits accruing
• from such like Pleas, Di-
• putes, Complaints and De-
• mands, without recurring to,
• or being impeded by us, our
• Heirs, Successors, or Judges,
• or our Heirs or Successors
• whatsoever, or the Senes-
• chals or Marshals of our
• Palace, or of our Successors,
• or the Sheriffs, Bailiffs, or our
• other Ministers whatsoever.

• And that the said Seneschals
• and Marshals, or any of them,
• by no means do intermeddle in
• the Cognizance of Pleas of
• Transgressions, Conventions,
• Debts, or Contracts, made or
• started in the said Lordships,
• *&c.* or in any Parcel of them.

• We have, moreover, granted
• to the aforesaid Dean and
• Canons, that they and their
• Successors have Power and
• plenary Authority to constitute,
• and assign by their Commissi-
• ons, to be made separately in all
• and singular their Manors,
• Lands, Tenements, Fiefs and
• Possessions already collated, or
• that for the future shall be
• conferred upon them, from
• time to time, and as often
• as it shall seem necessary, their
• own Justices of the Peace, and
• Apprentices to Artificers, and
• Labourers, to act all and singu-
• lar the Matters to be exercised,
• done, heard, and determined in
• the said Lordships, Manors, *&c.*
• which in any respect pertains
• to such Justices to exercise, act,
• hear and determine.

• We have also given and
• granted to the said Dean and
• Canons, and their Successors,
• that none of their Clerks,
• Scholars, Choristers, or Servants,
• or any Artificers or Workmen
• belonging at present to the
• said College, or that for the
• future shall be employed there-
• in, be ever hereafter taken or
• in any manner compelled into
• our Service, or into the Ser-
• vice of our Heirs, or Successors,
• for or in our Palace, or other
• Works belonging to us, our
• Heirs or Successors, or into
• the Service of any Nobleman
• or Gentleman of our said King-
• dom, or otherwise by us our
• Heirs, or Successors, or any
• of our Ministers, or Officers,
• or those of our Heirs or Suc-
• cessors, or others whomsoever,
• without the Consent and Will
• of the said Dean and Canons,
• or their Heirs or Successors:
• But that the said Dean and
• Canons, and their Successors,
• Chaplains, Clerks, Scholars,
• Choristers, Servants, Trades-
• men, and Workmen, be all
• and every one of them unmo-
• lested for ever.

• And we, being willing to
• do a more bountiful Grace to
• the said Dean and Canons,
• and their Successors, lest their
• Goods and Cattle, or those
• of their Farmers, Tenants, *&c.*
• should be taken or dissipated
• by the Proveditors, Buyers, or

• Takers

Bishop *Longland* repaired a third time to *Oxford*, having a Commission from his Eminency, to make the proper

'Takers of Provisions, or other 'Things for the Palace, Use, 'or Occasion of the Queen, our 'Consort, or for the Palace, or 'Palaces, of any of our Sons, or 'of our Heirs or Successors, or 'of any other Nobles of our 'Kingdom, or of any other 'Persons of what Preheminence, 'State, or Condition soever they 'may be; for which Purpose 'we have taken under our spe-'cial Protection the said Dean 'and Canons, and their Succes-'sors, as also their Lands, Te-'nements, Fiefs, and Possessions, 'which they at present or here-'after shall enjoy, and the Goods 'and Chattels of the said College, 'or of the said Dean and Canons, 'their Farmers, Tenants, &c. 'wheresoever they be, within our 'said Kingdom of *England*, and 'that none of the Goods or 'Chattels belonging to the said 'College, or the said Dean and 'Canons, or to their Successors, 'Farmers, Servants, Tenants, &c. 'nor any Part thereof, be in any 'respect taken, led, or carried 'away by the Purveyors, Buyers, 'or Captors of such Things, or 'others our Officers, or Bailiffs, 'or by those of our Heirs, or 'Successors, or of our Queen 'Consort, or Queens, or of our 'Sons, or their Heirs, or Suc-'cessors, or of any of the Nobles, 'or other Persons aforesaid, con-'trary to the Will of the said 'Dean and Canons, or of their 'Successors, Farmers, &c. or of 'either of them.

'We have moreover given 'and granted, and by these Pre-'sents do give and grant to the 'said Dean and Canons, that 'they and their Successors be 'for ever exempted from all 'manner of Supplies, Subsidies, 'Contributions, Taxes and Quo-'ta's whatsoever, which ought 'to be required of them on Ac-'count of the Lordships, Lands, 'Tenements, Revenues, Fiefs, 'and Possessions, Goods, &c. 'which they now have, and they 'and their Successors may hence-'forth enjoy by us, our Heirs, 'or Successors, or by our Bai-'liffs and Ministers, or those of 'our Heirs, or Successors, for 'our Service, or that of our 'Heirs or Successors, if the afore-'said Grant had not existed.

'And that whensoever the 'Clergy of our Kingdom of '*England*, or of the Province of '*Canterbury* alone, or of the 'Province of *York* alone, shall 'grant a Tenth, or Part of a 'Tenth, or other Quota, or 'Subsidy whatever, out of their 'Goods and Possessions, Eccle-'siastical, Spiritual and Tempo-'ral, or out of the Temporals 'annexed to their Spirituals; or 'the Communities of the Shires 'of our said Kingdom, or the 'Citizens or Burghers of the 'said Shires and Kingdom shall 'grant us, our Heirs, or Suc-'cessors, a Tenth, Fifteenth, or 'any other Quota, out of their 'Temporals or Moveables, or 'out of their Lands, Tenements,

proper Regulations for introducing the Scholars and Lecturers, that they might form a regular dependant Body,

or Revenues; *or we, our Heirs or Succeſſors, ſhall have cauſed our Kingdom* * *of* England *to be taxed*; and the Pope for the Time being had impoſed a Tenth, or other Quota or Subſidy on the Clergy, the ſaid Provinces of *Canterbury* or *York*, of our ſaid Kingdom, and ſhould grant the ſame, or any Part thereof, to us, or our Succeſſors, the ſaid Goods and Chattels of the ſaid Dean and Canons, and their Succeſſors, as well as the Goods and Chattels of their aforeſaid Farmers, Men, and Tenants, exiſting or that may exiſt within the ſaid Lordſhips, Lands, Tenements, Fiefs, and Poſſeſſions of the ſaid Dean and Canons, and their Succeſſors; and alſo the Perſons of the ſaid Dean and Canons and their Succeſſors, as well as thoſe of their aforeſaid Farmers, Men, and Tenants, ſhall not be taxed, for the Service of us, our Heirs or Succeſſors, nor any Part of Tenths, or Fifteenths, or any other Quota's, Subſidies, or Taxes, be levied upon them for our Service, or that of our Heirs, or Succeſſors; nor ſhall the ſaid Dean and Canons, nor their Succeſſors in their Lands, Tenements, or Goods aforeſaid, nor their Farmers, Tenants, or Men aforeſaid, be diſtrained, moleſted, or troubled in any thing, on the ſaid Occaſions, but to remain perpetually exempted and diſcharged from all manner of Tenths and Fifteenths, Taxes, Quota's, and Subſidies, heretofore granted to us, or hereafter to be granted to us, our Heirs or Succeſſors, notwithſtanding that the ſaid Dean and Canons, or their Succeſſors, or their ſaid Farmers, Men, or Tenants, or their Succeſſors, or any of them, ſhould be an acting and conſenting Party in granting ſuch Conceſſion.

And whereas, by our other Letters Patent, dated the 13th of *July*, in the 17th Year of our Reign, we gave Licence to the ſaid Dean and Canons, that they and their Succeſſors ſhould receive, have, and hold Manors, Lands, Tenements, Revenues, Reverſions, Services, Patronages of Churches, Abbies, Priories, Hoſpitals, and other Eccleſiaſtical Benefices whatſoever, Portions, Incomes, Annuities, Penſions, *&c.* Advowſons of Churches, and all manner of other Hereditaments and Poſſeſſions whatſoever, as well Spiritual as Temporal, of the yearly Value of 2000 l. *Sterling*, beyond all Burthens and

* This ſeems to imply, that the King apprehended he had a Right by his Prerogative, to tax his Kingdom excluſive of his Parliament; and in part juſtifies what we have ſaid in the Cardinal's Behalf in reſpect to the *Loan*. See fol. 349 foregoing.

Body, whereas before they had lived diſperſed in ſeveral Halls and Colleges, and in this *Wolſey* conſulted that pious and learned Prelate, *Veſey*, Lord Biſhop of *Exeter*.

The Cardinal lived to ſee the Eaſt and South Sides of the largeſt Square, (except the Stair-caſe leading to the common Hall) and the greateſt Part of the Weſt Side finiſhed, but was not ſo happy as to ſee the whole perfected, who had alſo purpoſed to

' and Reprisals, as well of our ' proper Fiefs, as of others, tho' ' they ſhould be held of us *in* ' *Capite*, or otherwiſe, or of any ' other Perſon or Perſons; the ' *Mortmain* Statute of Lands and ' Tenements, or any other Statute, ' Affair, Cauſe, or Matter, not- ' withſtanding, which in our ' ſaid Letters, of the Date afore- ' ſaid, is more amply ſet forth.

' But we, being willing to do ' the ſaid Dean and Canons a ' more bountiful Grace, out of ' our certain Knowledge and ' pure Inclination have granted, ' and by theſe Preſents give leave, ' that they and their Succeſſors ' may have Manors, Lands, *&c.* ' as well Spiritual as Temporal, ' of the yearly Value of 300*l.* ' *Sterling*, excluſive of all Bur- ' thens and Reprizes, as well of ' our proper Fiefs as of others, ' and whether holding of us *in* ' *Capite*, or otherwiſe, or of any ' other Perſon, or Perſons, and o- ' ver and above the Sum of 2000*l.* ' *Sterling*, mentioned in the ſaid ' Letters, of any Perſon or Per- ' ſons, willing to give and grant ' the ſame, and to receive of the ' ſaid Perſon or Perſons the ſame ' jointly or ſeparately, and to ' hold the ſame for themſelves ' and their Succeſſors, the Dean ' and Canons aforeſaid, and their ' Succeſſors, having in the whole ' by virtue of theſe Preſents, and ' of our aforeſaid Letters, in Ma- ' nors, Lands, *&c.* Spirituals and ' Temporals, to the yearly Va- ' of 2300*l.* *Sterling*, excluſive ' of all Burthens and Reprizes, ' as well of our Fiefs, as of o- ' thers, whether they hold *in* ' *Capite*, or otherwiſe, of us, or ' of other Perſon, or Perſons. ' To have and hold the ſaid Ma- ' nors, Lands, *&c.* both Spiri- ' tual and Temporal, of the year- ' ly Value of 2300*l.* clear of all ' Burthens and Reprizes; and ' that our preſent Letters may ' be corrected and reformed, ' wrote over anew, and ſealed ' according to the Force, Form, ' and Effect thereof, and as often ' as it ſhall appear neceſſary, ' and which is more clearly and ' amply expreſſed and declared ' in our Letters aforeſaid.

' Witneſſes,

' The moſt Reverend Father ' in Chriſt, *T.* of *York*, *Le-* ' *gate a Latere*, our Chan- ' cellor.

' *Will.* of *Canterbury*, &c. &c. &c.'

to have a fine Cloiſter round the large Court, called *Wolſey*'s Quadrangle.

The Foreigners incorporated in the Cardinal's College were, *John de Cleribus*, a Dominican; *Nicholas de Burgo*, Batchelor of Divinity; and *Peter Garcia de Lula*, of the Univerſity of *Paris*. The firſt of theſe, took his Degree of Doctor of Divinity, and wrote a Book againſt *Luther*, by the Cardinal's ſpecial Nomination, among others, he had appointed for that End.

The Author of the *Hiſtory* of *Oxford*, gives us upon this Occaſion, a large Extract from one of the Letters that the Univerſity ſent to the Cardinal, after Biſhop *Longland* returned to *London*, Part of which follows: "That if ever a Way was opened to true, "and juſt, and ſolid Learning, this is the Time, wherein "the Diſpoſitions of Providence to that End appear "more remarkable; ſince no Age ever diſcovered "a more forward Inclination in Men to Letters, "or afforded greater Advantages for learned Im-"provements: For what can more excite the Order "of Men in purſuit of them, than to underſtand, "that their Endeavours do not only recommend "them to the Approbation of their Superiors, but "to be ſenſible of the moſt generous Effects of their "Favour and Encouragement? What indeed can con-"tribute more to animate Men in their Search after "Knowledge, than when they conſider they are pur-"ſuing thoſe very Methods, by which your Emi-"nency hath gradually raiſed yourſelf to ſo tran-"ſcendent a Pitch of Glory? When we reflect, that "the higheſt Authority is adorned, in the Perſon of "your Lordſhip, with the moſt extenſive Goodneſs, "and that your Lordſhip's Erudition is equal to "your great Dignities, and how great Addreſs and "Wiſdom you ſhew, in managing the moſt impor-"portant and intricate Affairs of State, we cannot

"but,

" but, in the moſt humble and devout Manner, ren-
" der our Thanks to Almighty God, for his Grace,
" in conferring ſuch ſpecial and extraordinary Gifts
" upon Men; and upon one, who, in his early Age,
" being incorporated in this Univerſity, and having
" conformed to the Rules and Diſcipline of it, is
" now become a Patron, Protector, and a Father to
" us; the Benefits of whoſe paternal Care over us
" have not only exceeded our Expectations, but all
" that we could reaſonably propoſe or deſire: For who
" has raiſed in any Seat of Learning whatever, or
" in any Age, ſo noble a Monument of Piety and
" Goodneſs, as what at preſent is erected upon the
" Foundation of your new College." Then they deſcend to enumerate, among other Favours the Cardinal had before conferred on them, that of founding ſeven Lectures, and conclude thus, " We no
" longer conſider your new Society as an additional
" College to other Colleges, but as a Univerſity
" ſuper-added to a Univerſity, and as if *Oxford*,
" by ſuch an extraordinary Acceſſion to it, were
" really founded anew."

Notwithſtanding this, and other grateful Acknowledgments, from the Univerſity to the Cardinal, for his Care to encourage Learning, Monſieur *Rapin*, with his uſual Rancour, obſerves, * " That *Wolſey*
" undertook, this very Year, a Thing he never
" would have ventured upon, had he not been ful-
" ly ſatisfied, that the Pope could not do without
" the King's Aſſiſtance; and that was to cauſe ſeveral
" Religious Houſes to be ſuppreſſed, in order to ap-

pro-

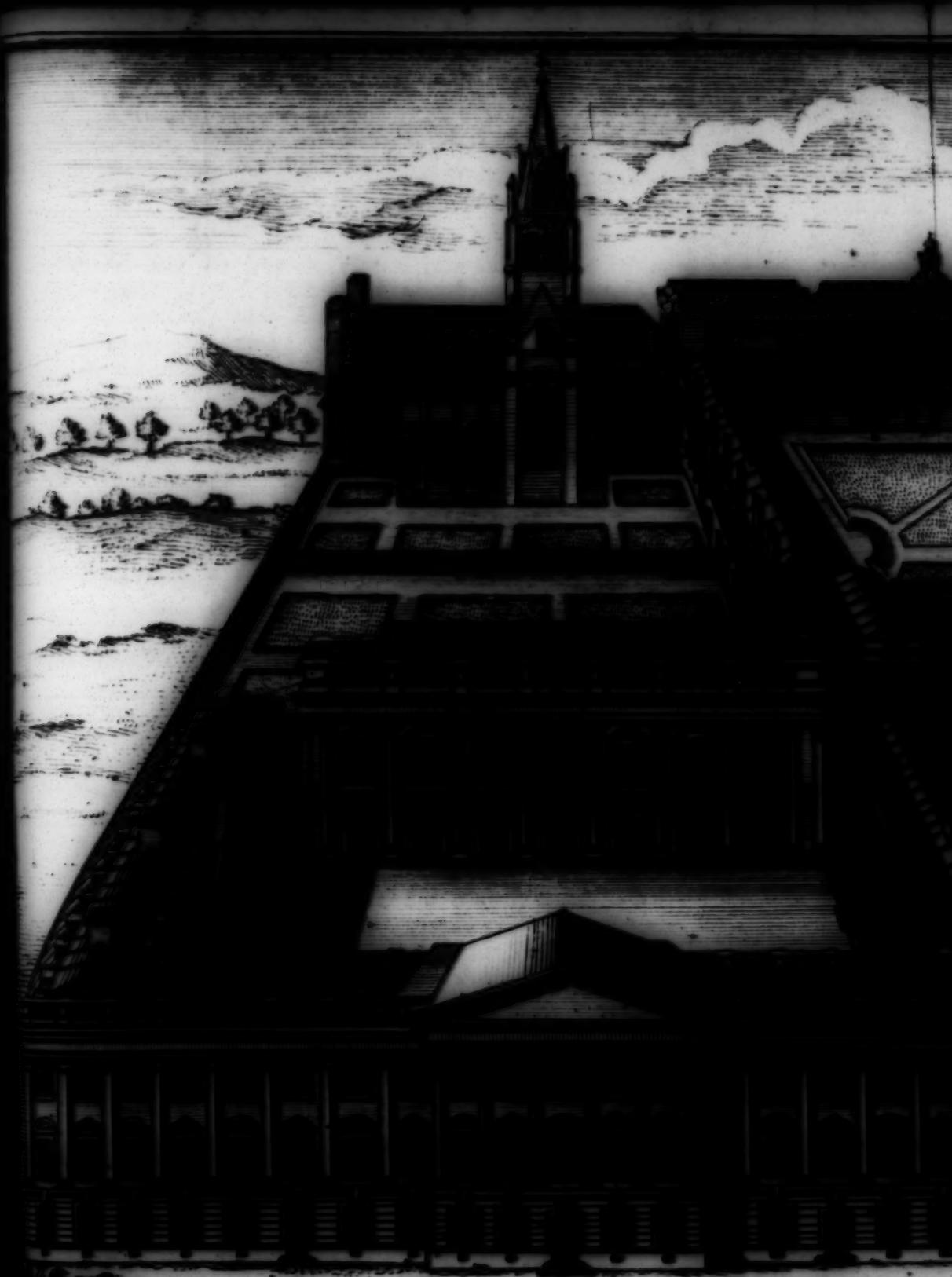
* Mr. *Salmon*, in Reply to Monſieur, ſays, 'That *Rapin* fell upon 'the Cardinal for procuring the 'Pope's and the King's Conſent, 'for diſſolving ſome little Mo-'naſteries, in order to erect two 'Colleges at *Ipſwich* and *Ox-'ford* for the Advancement of 'Learning, which *Rapin* would 'not have found Fault with in 'another; nay, he would, and 'actually does approve the de-'moliſhing every Monaſtery in 'the Kingdom, when it was 'done by other Hands.' But this is no new Thing with him.

" propriate their Revenues to his new Colleges, which " he intended to found at *Oxford* and *Ipſwich*. If " the Pope had reaped any Benefit or Advantage by " this Step, his Conſent would not have been very " ſtrange: But that he ſhould agree to the Sup- " preſſion of ſeveral Monaſteries to gratify a pri- " vate Perſon, is what could hardly be expected; " and perhaps had never happened, nor the Pope " ever have granted ſuch a Thing, had not the ſa- " tisfying the Paſſion of this *ambitious* Miniſter been " abſolutely neceſſary to his Deſigns."

Other Writers have charged the Cardinal with Sacrilege, in reſpect to his ſuppreſſing of religious Houſes for the Support of his Colleges; † but the Rev. Mr.

† The College at *Oxford* ſtands on the South Side of the City, which at firſt was called *Cardinal College*; but had only 4 Years Continuance; for in 1529, when the Cardinal was condemned in a Premunire, the Building was ſtopped, and all the Eſtates belonging to it, both real and perſonal, were ſeized into the King's Hands; ſome of which he gave to his rapacious Miniſters and Courtiers. The Building was for ſome time wholly neglected, till, in the Year 1532, his Majeſty was petitioned, by certain Friends of the Univerſity, eſpecially ſuch as were among the Cardinal's Scholars, to found this College a-new, as it was then phraſed; which was accordingly done, and Letters Patent iſſued out the 10th of *July*; by Virtue of which he founded the College, in the ſame Place, and within the former Precincts, upon the Ruins of his Miniſter's, and gave it the Name of *Henry* the VIIIth's College; which was eſtabliſhed and dedicated to the Honour of the holy and undivided *Trinity*, the bleſſed Virgin *Mary*, and the holy St. *Frideſwide*; and the King was pleaſed to endow it with an Eſtate agreeable for the Maintenance of one Dean, and twelve ſecular Canons, who were to make a full Chapter, and an Eccleſiaſtical Corporation.

Upon this ſome Parts of the Building were again carried on, and the drooping Spirits of the Cardinal's Friends were in ſome meaſure raiſed; but this did not laſt many Years longer than the firſt, as will be ſoon ſeen. However, before any further Alteration happened in reſpect to this Foundation, the King was ſet upon diſſolving the Religious Houſes throughout the Kingdom; but after this unexpected Work had been carried on ſome time, his Majeſty had ſome little Contrition, the which had ſo much Effect, as to cauſe him to



The North East Prospect of Peckwater Square facing

To the Hon.ble William Murray Esq.r
This PROSPECT of Christ Church
by his most humble

Square facing ye Library

his MAJESTY'S Sollicitor General &c.
College. OXFORD. is humbly Inscribed
and most Obedient Servt Joseph Grove

Mr. *Collier*, in his *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory* of *Great Britain*, hath cleared the Cardinal from that Reflection, "who

ereſt and add ſix new to the old Number of Biſhopricks, by way of making ſome Amends for what he was doing; one of which he nominated and fixed at *Oſney*.

1542. In purſuance thereof his Majeſty, by Letters Patent, dated *September* 1, (which may be ſeen at length in *Rymer's Fœdera*, Vol. XIV. p. 754.) fixed the See at *Oſney*, and granted it the ſame Privileges as the Biſhop of *Lincoln* had enjoyed, out of whoſe See this Dioceſe was taken, under certain Reſtrictions.

Camden, and other Writers after him, reckon 280 Pariſhes in this Dioceſe, but the Total of the Tenths in the King's Books amounts only to 255 *l.* 8 *s.*

The Number of Members appointed on the Foundation of *Oſney* were only a Dean, 6 Minor Canons, 8 ſinging Men, 80 Choriſters, a Maſter, Uſher, and 24 Grammar-ſcholars; and the Abbey-Church of *Oſney* was made the Cathedral.

1545. On the 10th of *May* the King, agreeable to his frequently wavering Diſpoſition, was pleaſed to ſuppreſs his new founded College at *Oxford*, and the Method he took to do it was thus: He iſſued out a Commiſſion, directing certain Gentlemen therein mentioned, (one of which, as we have been informed, was *George Cavendiſh*, Eſq; the Cardinal's then late Gentleman-uſher) in the King's Name, to take Poſſeſſion not only of this College, but alſo of the Cathedral Church of *Oſney*; and of all the Eſtate belonging thereto. Upon this a Deed was ſigned by the Dean and Canons, whereby they paid Obedience to his Majeſty's Command; and Sir *John Leigh*, Knt. one of the Maſters of the Court of *Chancery*, repaired to *Oxford*, who accepted thereof, for the King's Uſe, from the Dean's Hands.

By this Means, as the Dean and Canons were ſtripped of their Support and Maintenance, they ſoon found themſelves in the ſame Condition as the King's Prime Miniſter, their firſt Founder, was in after his Diſgrace, *viz.* ſcarce to have Bread to eat. But their deplorable State being laid before the King, his Majeſty was pleaſed to iſſue out Letters Patent, dated the 18th of *July*, for their Relief, by aſſigning them certain Stipends.

1546. The next Year the King began to caſt a favourable Eye towards the Cardinal's ruined College; for he was prevailed upon to ſign Letters Patent on the 4th of *November*, whereby he not only tranſlated the Epiſcopal See from *Oſney* to *Oxford*, but made the Church of St. *Frideſwide*, belonging to the Cardinal's College, the Cathedral by this Title, ECCLESIA CHRISTI

who ſays, "We are to conſider, that the Cardinal "was governed by the Principles of that Age, and "did

CHRISTI CATHEDRALIS, OXON. EX FUNDATIONE HENRICI OCTAVI; *the Cathedral of* Chriſt Church, Oxford, *founded by* Henry *the* VIII*th*.

The Church of *St. Frideſwide*, the preſent Cathedral, is without the Eaſt Side of *Wolſey*'s great Quadrangle, built in the Shape of a Croſs, with a Spire Steeple in the Middle; the Choir, and the Iſles on each Side are all vaulted and erected with Stone. The *Latin* Chapel was built about the End of K. *Henry* the IIId's Reign; the Choir was neatly wainſcoted with Oak in King *Charles* the Iſt's Time, chiefly at the Expence of the then generous Dean, Dr. *Duppa*, and his Succeſſor, Dr. *Samuel Fell*.

By the Letters Patent we laſt mentioned, the King appointed therein a Biſhop, Dean, and 8 Canons; and made *Robert King*, who was the firſt and laſt Biſhop of *Oſney*, firſt Biſhop of this See, by the Title of Biſhop of *Oxford*, which it has ever ſince borne. This being ſettled, the College was again revived by the Title of *Colegium Ædis Chriſti*, or *Chriſt Church College*; and, for the better ſupporting thereof, the King gave to the Dean and Canons, and to their Succeſſors for ever, the whole Ground and Edifice of the Cardinal's College; to which he added *Peckwater-inn*, ſome Years before called *Vine-hall*, with the Land on the Weſt Side of *Peckwater-quadrangle*, towards *Fiſh-ſtreet*, together with many other ancient Buildings, and a ſmall Portion of Ground adjoining, belonging to *Oriel* College, three Rods in Compaſs. He alſo gave them two Manſion-houſes, the one called *St. Edward's Hall*, near the Weſt Side of *Peckwater-quadrangle*; and the other an *Almſ-houſe*; beſides divers Lands and Tenements diſperſed up and down in *Oxford*, and particularly half the Grove belonging to *Durham* College, which the Founder of *St. John Baptiſt's* College afterwards purchaſed. To theſe have been ſince added ſeveral Eſtates, conſiſting in Lands, Tenements, Tythes, Penſions, lying in different Parts of *England*, of a conſiderable Value.

Queen ELIZABETH joined to this College that of *Canterbury*, now called *Canterbury-quadrangle*, and alſo *Peckwater-inn*, now called *Peckwater-court*; and SHE alſo conſigned over the Stipends of the Grammar-ſcholars belonging to this *College*, for the Maintenance of forty Students, four to be choſen out of that Seminary of Learning, called *Weſtminſter-ſchool*, of the Foundation of her Father *Henry* the VIIIth; and the whole Number of its Students, by Queen *Elizabeth*'s Alteration, was to be juſt one hundred.

The yearly Election of the Scho-

" did nothing but what was juſtifiable by the then " received Doctrines. He owned the Supremacy of " the

Scholars, ſent from *Weſtminſter-School* to this College, is generally on the 28th of *April*. Notwithſtanding this, the Perfecting of the Building of this College was neglected for many Years; but in the Year 1638 the Carrying it on was in ſome meaſure revived; for the Lodgings of two of the Canons, called the *firſt* and *eighth* Prebends, on the North Side of the great Court, were then ſet on foot: Yet the ſame were not at that Juncture finiſhed, by reaſon of the *grand Rebellion*, that ſome time after broke out; ſo that only the Shells or Out-walls thereof were raiſed from the Ground; and in this manner it lay during that unhappy Period: But no ſooner was King *Charles* the IId reſtored, than this great Quadrangle, called *Wolſey*'s Quadrangle, met with many Benefactors; ſo that, before the Expiration of the Year 1669, the Buildings of that Quadrangle were finiſhed; and, to make it more beautiful and magnificent, the Ground in the Middle was ſunk about four Feet in Depth, and the remaining Part, being walled up with Stone, makes, as it now appears, a very ſpatious and pleaſant Walk. In the Middle of this Square is a Baſon, with the Statue of *Mercury*, from whence the Water is jetted out.

The Work, as to the North Side of *Wolſey*'s great Quadrangle, was began to be built by Dr. *Samuel Fell*, which had for ſeveral Years lain as a Heap of Rubbiſh; who alſo finiſhed the great Stair caſe, leading up to the Hall, one of the fineſt in *Britain*: But ſeveral of his other great Deſigns were ſtopped thro' the Inquietude of the Times. However, they were revived by his Son, Dr. *John Fell*, Biſhop of *Oxford*, who built the ſtately Tower over the Gate in the Front of the College.

Within-ſide, over this Gate, is the Statue of Queen *Anne*, and the Inſcription ſhews it was erected by the late *Robert Harley*, Eſq; (afterwards Earl of *Oxford*) Secretary of State, when her Majeſty did the Univerſity of *Oxford* the Honour of a Viſit. Over the Entry, going up to the great Hall, is the Cardinal's Statue with this Inſcription.

EMINENTISSIMO CARDINALI THOMÆ WOLSEO, VIRO INTRA HÆC MÆNIA SEMPER MEMORANDO,

P.

REVERENDUS IN CHRISTO AC HONORATISSIMUS DNUS. DNUS. JONATHAN TRELAWNEY, DE TRELAWNEY IN COM. CORNUB. BARONETTUS; HUJUSCE ÆDIS OLIM ALUMNUS, WOLSEI in EPISCOPATU WINTONIENSI SUCCESSOR, ET WOLSEIANÆ, ERGA HANC DOMUM MUNIFICENTIÆ ÆMULUS,

A.D. M.DCC. XIX.

In English.

To the moſt eminent Cardinal

" the Papal See, and maintained the Privileges claimed
" by the Court of *Rome*. Now under this Perſuaſion
" he

WOLSEY, *whoſe Memory is never to be forgotten within theſe Walls, this Statue is erected, by the Right Reverend Father in Chriſt, the Honourable Sir* JONATHAN TRELAWNEY, *of* Trelawney *in the County of* Cornwall, *Bart. formerly of this College, Succeſſor to* WOLSEY *in the Biſhoprick of* Wincheſter, *and a Rival of the* WOLSEAN *Munificence towards this Foundation, in the Year of our Lord* 1719.

On the Eaſt Side of the great Quadrangle, over-againſt that of the Cardinal's, is a Statue of the late Biſhop *Fell* unfiniſhed, on which is an Inſcription, to inform the Reader who he was.

The preſent Dean, who is the Rev. and learned Dr. *Conybeare*, has his Lodgings in the Eaſt of the great Square, near Biſhop *Fell*'s Statue, and are very grand and elegant, with Gardens behind them.

In the Dean's Library is a fine Picture over the *Chimney*, (ſaid to be an Original of Cardinal *Wolſey*) decorated with carved Work, and ſeems to have been placed there many Years, and it is not unlikely that beautiful Picture of the Cardinal, publiſhed among the Heads of the *Moſt Illuſtrious Perſons* of *Great Britain*, was compoſed from it.

The Hall, in this great Quadrangle, is one of the largeſt Rooms in *England*, and has a magnificent Stair-caſe, or Baluſtrade, aſcending to it, and very convenient. Part of the Inſide of the Hall, ſome time ſince, was burnt down; and has been re-built again, on which Occaſion his late Majeſty, King *George* the Iſt, generouſly contributed 1000 *l.* The Fire-place, which, before this Accident, was in the Middle of the Hall, as we ſee in *Lincoln*'s Inn, the *Temple*, and other Halls, is now placed in a convenient Part on the Right-hand Side; the Hall is alſo wainſcoted, having, in different Parts, the Coats of Arms of ſeveral Members of this renowned Society.

Paſſing from *Wolſey*'s grand Quadrangle, under Biſhop *Fell*'s Statue, we come to *Packwater-quadrangle*; ſo called, from an antient Inn or Hôtel, ſituate on the South-weſt Side thereof; in which was firſt made a new Addition of Buildings, in the Deanſhips of Dr. *Duppa* and Dr. *Samuel Fell*, before-mentioned: But, in the Deanſhip of Dr. *Aldrich*, this whole Quadrangle, or at leaſt three Sides thereof, were pulled down and re-built in the ſtately and elegant Manner it now appears in, at the Expence of divers Benefactors; *viz.* Dr. *Ratcliffe*; Sir *Edward Hannes*, Knt. and Dr. of Phyſick; the Right Hon. the Lord *Charles Somerſet*, Brother to the late D. of *Beaufort*; and many others too numerous here to relate.

Run-

" he muſt believe the Pope had an Authority of tranſ-
" ferring the Lands and Revenues of the Church to
" what

Running along the Front of this new grand Building, in Capital Letters, is this Inſcription,

ATRII PECWATERIENSIS, QUOD SPECTAS, LATUS, EXTRUXIT, ANTONIUS RATCLIFFE, S. T. P. HUJUSCE ÆDIS, PRIMO ALUMNUS, DEINDE CANONICUS.

ANTHONY RATCLIFFE, S. T. P. *firſt a Student, and afterwards Canon on this Foundation, built this Side, which you behold, of* PECKWATER-SQUARE.

In a Word it may be ſaid, that the Canons as well as the Dean's Apartments and Gardens are, at this Day, ſo ſpatious and noble, that they are worthy of their Original Founder, Cardinal *Wolſey*.

Facing this new Building in *Peckwater-ſquare* is a grand Structure, erected and deſigned for a *Library*. But ſorry are we to ſay, that the Shell only is finiſhed, and the Work ſtands ſtill for want of a ſufficient Fund to compleat it, by reaſon of which great Parcels of Books, belonging to this College, are diſperſed in private Rooms; but we hope that, as there have been already ſeveral generous Benefactors to this College, bountiful Encouragers of Learning will not long be wanting, by whoſe Contributions the Buildings of this noble College may be once finiſhed, and rendered the moſt magnificent in all *Europe*.

The Buildings on the South-eaſt of the large Court are called the *Chaplain's Quadrangle*, which have been burnt down twice, and as often re-built by the College, with ſome Out-offices and Stables now belonging to the Dean and Canons.

Turning ſhort, leaving the Steps that go up to the Hall on the right Hand, is the preſent Library, which is a beautiful old Building; but by no means ſufficient to contain the Books belonging to the College: Among thoſe who have beſtowed Libraries of Books on this College were, The Right Hon. the late Earl of *Orrery*, of the Kingdom of *Ireland*; the learned Dr. *Wake*, late Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, left alſo to this College, (where he had his Education) his valuable Library, with his large Cabinet of Medals, eſteemed to be worth ſome thouſands of Pounds, beſides other Bequeſts; which two noble Collections are kept in ſeparate Apartments.

The Room, called the Chapter-houſe, is near the old Library, paſſing under the Cardinal's Statue, and opens into the Eaſt Cloiſter, and is ſuppoſed to have been built in *Henry* the IIId's Time, which is hung round with original Pictures of ſeveral great Men, numbered as follows,

1. King *Henry* the VIIIth.
2. Cardinal WOLSEY. From this

" what Uſes he thought fit; and eſpecially of turn-
" ing Religious Houſes into Societies for Secular
" Prieſts,

this Picture, we believe, Dr. *Fiddes* cauſed to be engraved the Cardinal's Effigy, placed in his Hiſtory.

3. *Thomas Godwin*, Bp. of *Bath* and *Wells*.
4. *Herbert Weſtfaling*, Bp. of *Hereford*.
5. *John Pirs*, Archbiſhop of *York*.
6. *Martin Heton*, Bp. of *Ely*.
7. *Francis Godwin*, Bp. of *Landaff*, Son to Bp. *Godwin*.
8. *Tobey Matthews*, Archbp. of *York*.
9. *William James*, Bp. of *Durham*.
10. *Thomas Ravis*, Bp. of *London*.
11. *John King*, Bp. of *London*.
12. *Miles Smith*, Bp. of *Glouceſter*.
13. Sir *Dudley Caliſton*.
14. *John Hawſon*, Bp. of *Durham*.
15. *Richard Corbet*, Bp. of *Norwich*.
16. *John Bencroft*, Bp. of *Oxford*.
17. *Henry King*, Bp. of *Chicheſter*.
18. *George Morley*, Bp. of *Winchester*.
19. *Robert Sanderſon*, Bp. of *Lincoln*.
20. *George Griffith*, Biſhop of *St Aſaph*.
21. *Bryan Duppa*, Bp. of *Winchester*.
22. *Henry*, Lord *Arlington*.
23. *John Dolben*, Archbp. of *York*.
24. *William Fuller*, Bp. of *Lincoln*.
25. *Thomas Wood*, Bp. of *Litchfield* and *Coventry*.
26. *Henry Compton*, Bp. of *London*.
27. *John Fell*, Bp. of *Oxford*.
28. *Will. Moreton*, Bp. of *Meath*.
29. *Charles Hickman*, Bp. of *Londonderry*.
30. *Wellbore Ellis*, Bp. of *Kildare*.
31. Sir *Jonathan Trelawney*, Bp. of *Winchester*.
32. *George Hooper*, Bp. of *Bath* and *Wells*.
33. *Hugh Boulter*, Archbp. of *Armagh*.
34. *Francis Gaſtrel*, Biſhop of *Cheſter*.
35. *Martin Benſon*, Bp. of *Glouceſter*.
36. *Charles Eaſt*, Bp. of *Waterford* and *Liſmore*, now Bp. of *Leighlin* and *Ferns*.
37. *Lancelot Blackburn*, Archbp. of *York*.

In the Room adjoining to the Chapter-houſe are the following Pieces:

Robert Harley, late Earl of *Oxford*.
The late Earl of *Oxford*, his Son.
Vice Camberlain *Cole*.
William Bromley, Eſq; and,
Dean *Aldrich*, who had been a very great Benefactor to this College.

Many, if not all theſe eminent Men, were Members of this College; and, not 24 Years ſince,

a

" Prieſts, and for the Advancement of Learning:
" And the Popes had formerly given Inſtances of
" their

a third Part of the Bench of Biſhops were reckoned to have been of it, as well as the two late Primates of *Great Britain*, and Dr. *Boulter*, the late generous Archbiſhop of *Armagh*, who was alſo Dean thereof, though bred at *Magdalen* College, where Cardinal *Wolſey* had his Education: And it has, as *Willis* tells us, produced Biſhops in all its Prebendal Stalls.

As to the Endowment of this See, we refer our Readers to Mr. *Willis* and other Authors, who have taken great Pains to publiſh an Account thereof.

It is to be obſerved here, that the Members of this Society are remarkable for retaining a grateful Remembrance of their firſt Founder, Cardinal *Wolſey*, an Inſtance of which we ſhall lay before the Reader.

Some Years ſince a whole Band of Writers, reputed to be ſome of the ableſt of this Kingdom, entered the Liſts, in order to oppoſe and run down the Meaſures of the then Chief Miniſter; and both antient and modern Hiſtories were not left unſearched for Parallels ſuitable to their Wiſhes: Among others Cardinal *Wolſey*, the Founder of this College, was brought on the Stage, in ſeveral Papers, called the *Craftſman*, then and now printed; in one of which, publiſhed the 6th of *April*, 1728, was this POSTSCRIPT:

" The following Memorial, " inſcribed on a large Marble " Pillar, was lately found among " ſome Ruins in *White-hall*. It " is ſuppoſed to have been for- " merly fixed there by Order of " King *Henry* the VIIIth, when " Cardinal *Wolſey* fell under Diſ- " grace; and ſeems to bear ſome " Alluſion to a moſt *fulſome* and " *inſolent* Inſcription, which the " Cardinal himſelf cauſed to " be put on the Foundation- " ſtone of that ſumptuous Pa- " lace, in the Madneſs of his " Proſperity."

" I am much obliged, ſays " the *Craftſman*, to the Gentle- " man, who communicated it " to me, and doubt not that " it will prove an agreeable " Entertainment to ſome of my " Readers, as I hope it will be " a Warning to others."

" *In perpetuam Infamiæ Memoriam* THOMÆ WOLSÆI,

" *Qui ſummâ Rerum fraudulenter potitus,*
" *Et neſaſtiſſimo Peculatûs Genio indulgens,*
" *Haſce ædes, ſatis ſuperbas,*
" *Reipublicæ ſumptibus extruxit.*
" *Divitiarum, Ambitionis, Laudis & Vituperii ſatur;*
" *Subdolus, inſolens, rapax;*

" *Orator*

" their Authority in this kind further, ſince the Popes
" have given Monks Leave to throw off their Ha-
" bits

" *Orator volubilis, haud facundus;*
" *At quicquid Veritate, vel Eloquentiâ defuit,*
" *Incuſſus verborum Copiâ ſuppeditavit.*
" *Præſul purpureus;*
" *Perfricatâ Fronte potentiſſimus.*
" *Patriâ, propriis artibus emeritâ,*
" *Summam inter Tranquillitatem, ſumptibus Belli langueſcente,*
" *Seipſum, ſuoſque ſolus*
" *Naufragio publico diteſcentes vidit.*
" *Hoſtem temerarius provocavit;*
" *Idemq; Pacem implavit inglorius;*
" *Dum invictiſſimo vindicias Populo,*
" *Amicorum æquè ac Inimicorum Prædæ,*
" *(Commercio, Gloriâq; Reipublicæ periturus,)*
" *Iniquis Conventionibus negavit.*
" *Honorum perinde ac ſcelerum cumulatiſſimus,*
" *Tum Principi, tum Populo meritò invisus,*
" *Mole jam tandem ruebat ſuâ,*
" *Pluſq; in adverſis Rebus Timiditatis prodidit,*
" *Quam in ſecundis induerat Arrogantiæ.*
" *Abi, viator aulice; diſce; cave.*

Of which this is a Tranſlation, publiſhed by the ſaid Author:

" This Monument, conſign'd to lateſt Times,
" Stands to perpetuate WOLSEY's daring Crimes;
" Who long, by wicked Arts, of Power poſſeſt,
" (The Luſt of Plunder raging in his Breaſt)
" Rais'd this Imperial Dome, more vain than wiſe,
" Amidſt the Widows Tears and Orphans Cries;
" With boundleſs Wealth and wild Ambition cloy'd,
" He Fame alike and Infamy enjoy'd;
" Rapacious, guileful, inſolent of Heart,
" He vainly boaſted CICERONIAN Art.
" His poor fallacious, tinſel ELOQUENCE
" Tickled the Ear, but ne'er inform'd the Senſe;
" Whilſt every plauſible Harangue affords
" A ſpecious, empty, puzzling Rote of Words.

" Vers'd

" bits and return to the World, what ſhould hinder
" them from altering a Settlement, and making a
" ſmall

" Vers'd in the Art of LYING, from his Youth,
" His Genius ſcorn'd the *mean* Reſtraints of Truth.
" Good-nature, Reaſon, Argument, and Senſe
" Were all ſupplied with ſhameleſs IMPUDENCE;
" A *purple* Robber; who, for impious Gain,
" Saw his poor Country bleed thro' ev'ry Vein;
" And tho' in PEACE, as He himſelf confeſs'd,
" With all the Miſeries of a WAR oppreſs'd;
" Whilſt his voracious Tribe grew fat with Spoil,
" And flouriſh'd on the Shipwreck of our Iſle;
" Raſh to provoke, and yet afraid of War;
" He ſu'd for Peace with Bribes and Sordidneſs of Pray'r.
" Thus to a People, long in Camps renown'd,
" With never-fading Wreaths and Trophies crown'd,
" The juſt Revenge of Arms, which Heav'n ſupply'd,
" By baſe, inglorious Treaties he deny'd,
" Saw their old Honour and their Trade Decay,
" To Friends and Foes, by Turns, a deſpicable Prey.
" At length, grown full of TITLES, full of CRIMES,
" The Scandal, Curſe, and Grievance of the Times,
" Abhorr'd by all, ſuſpected by the Crown,
" By his own Weight he ruſh'd impetuous down;
" Soon as he fell, with abject Fears diſmay'd,
" He all the Coward, all the Wretch betray'd,
" More Meanneſs ſhew'd, a more dejected Mind,
" Than INSOLENCE before, when unconfin'd,
" And, his own Will the Law, he triumph'd o'er Mankind.
" Attend, ye COURTIERS! tho' with Pow'r elate;
" Be warn'd by his Example, ſhun his Fate.

This Inſcription and Tranſlation no ſooner appeared, but the World was ſoon ſenſible for what Purpoſe it was calculated; yet, as ſomething very inhumane glared through it, and no ways ſuited to the Cardinal's Character, it produced the following Letter to the *Craftſman*, with an Inſcription accompanying it, both in *Latin* and *Engliſh*. This Author publiſhed them in his Paper

" ſmall Revolution in Lands and Tenements? Why " ſhould the Conſecration of Eſtates go deeper, " and

of the 25th of *May*, 1728, with the following Introduction.

' I am ſorry, that the Inſcription on Cardinal *Wolſey*, ' which was firſt publiſhed in ' this Paper, ſhould give any ' Gentleman Offence. There is, ' however, ſomething ſo gene- ' rous and grateful, conſidering ' the Place from whence it comes, ' in the Requeſt made to me, in ' the following Letter, that I can- ' not refuſe it, without depart- ' ing from that Impartiality ' which is eſſential to an honeſt ' Writer. But, as I publiſhed ' that Inſcription merely for the ' publick Good, I hope my Cor- ' reſpondent will have the Can- ' dor to acknowledge, *that*, if ' any Part of it is really too ſevere ' on the Cardinal, *I ought not to* ' *be blamed for it, ſince it muſt* ' *be imputed either to the Violence* ' *of the Times, or the uſual Re-* ' *ſentment of a paſſionate Prince,* ' *againſt a falling Stateſman and* ' *Favourite.* For my Part, tho' ' I cannot, indeed, entertain a ' very good Opinion of his Emi- ' nence; yet I ſhould be loth to ' do the leaſt Injury to the Cha- ' racter of a *Miniſter, who has* ' *been ſo long gone to his Account*; ' and eſpecially ſince my Cor- ' reſpondent ſeems to admit, ' that I have done *Juſtice* to the LIVING, I am reſolved not to ' ſeem guilty of any *Injuſtice* to ' the Memory of the DEAD, by ' ſuppreſſing the *ſhining* Side of ' his Character. How juſt it is, ' let the Reader determine."

St. Church, Oct. *May* 12, 1728.

To CALEB D'ANVERS, Eſq.

SIR,

" AS you profeſs yourſelf a " Friend to *Truth*, I hope " you will have Impartiality e- " nough not to ſuppreſs it, when " it ſeems againſt you. There's " an Art of modern Satire which " appears to me a little diſinge- " nuous, if not inhumane. If " an ill Man is to be expoſed, " whom it is not convenient to " attack openly, ſome great " Man of former Ages is raiſed " up, as it were, from the " Grave, to be puniſhed for ano- " ther's Faults, and his Name " is loaded with Ignominy, in " ſome Degree, undeſerved, for " the Sake of one who muſt be " nameleſs. I cannot help think- " ing Cardinal *Wolſey* has lately " experienced ſomething of this " hard Treatment. He had *ex-* " *traordinary Vertues as well as* " *Vices.** During *his Miniſtry*, " King *Henry* never fell into " thoſe *diſhonourable* Difficulties, " in which he was afterwards " involved. It muſt be owned, " that the Cardinal acknowledg- " ed himſelf negligent of his " Duty towards God; for which " let that *Stateſman*, who is *with-* " *out Sin*, throw the firſt Stone " at him: And it ſhould never " be forgotten, that he profeſſed " with

* *Extraordinary Vices* we do not admit.

" and be more irreconcilable than that of Per-
" ſons?

" Beſides,

" with his dying Words, *that*
" *he ſerved his King faithfully.*
" His Character had a *bright as*
" *well as a dark Side*; † and as
" you have already expoſed the
" one, it ſeems the leaſt Atone-
" ment you can make to his
" Memory, to give the other to
" publick View; that you may
" not appear one of thoſe unfair
" Writers, who, under the ſpe-
" cious Pretext of doing Juſtice
" to the *Living*, are guilty of In-
" juſtice to the *Dead*.

" The following Inſcription is
" ſuppoſed to have been written
" by a Member of this Foundation,
" which owes ſo much to that
" *great Man*'s Munificence; and
" *I ſhould be glad if the moſt ſa-*
" *gacious Reader was able to find*
" *him a living Parallel.*

" Yours,

" A. B."

" IN ÆTERNAM MEMORIAM
" THOMÆ WOLSÆI, S. R. E. C.
" *Qui ad honores, quibus erat cumulatus plurimis,*
" *Non Temporum Calamitate, ſed regio Favore evocatus*
" *Haſce Ædes publicæ Utilitati*
" *Propriis Sumptibus extruxit.*
" *Exteris Principibus eò formidabilis,*
" *Quod* Anglicani *Imperii Gloriam*
" *Sapienter ubiq; aſſervit,*
" *Vindicavit acerrime,*
" *Et inemptis fœderibus ſtabilivit.*
" *In hoc egregiè pertinax,*
" *Quia nec alienam fidem pretio ſolicitavit*
" *Nec vinditavit ſuam;*
" *Honeſtius ratus & dignius* ANGLICANO NOMINE
" *Pactiones imperare quam mercari,*
" *Et præſcribere quam efflagitare.*
" *Apertus, prudens, munificus.*
" *Dignitates aſſignavit, tum civileſum eccleſiaſticas,*
" *Non neceſſariis ſed merentibus.*
" *Ædificia ampla & regalia condidit*
" *(Privatæ Rei immemor)*

" *Patriæ*

† Admitted; but this is widely different from the Phraſe above objected to.

" Beſides, if we conſider the new Application,
" there will be no Reaſon to charge the Cardinal
" with

" *Patriæ, Regi, Deo.*
" *Coævis ille & Poſteris vixit;*
" *Et Literatus ipſe & Literatorum Fautor.*
" *Abi, Aulice, & ſi potes, æmulare.*

In ENGLISH.

" *To the immortal Memory of* THOMAS WOLSEY,
" *Cardinal of the Holy Roman See;*
" Who, being adorned with a Multitude of Honours,
" Which he did not gain by any *publick Calamity*,
" But by the Favour *of his Prince*,
" Raiſed this great Pile, for publick Uſe,
" At his own private Expence.
" For this Reaſon dreaded by foreign Princes,
" That he every where *wiſely* aſſerted,
" Moſt ſtrenuouſly vindicated,
" And by *unbought* Treaties confirmed
" The *true Glory* of the ENGLISH Empire.
" Remarkably glorious in this Particular,
" That he never attempted to *corrupt* another's Faith,
" Nor *ſold his Own*,
" Eſteeming it much more noble
" And worthy of the ENGLISH Name,
" To *command* Peace, than to *buy* it,
" And preſcribe Terms, than to court them.
" Ingenuous, wiſe, munificent.
" He beſtowed Honours, both civil and eccleſiaſtical,
" Not on *meer Tools*, but *deſerving Men.*
" He built ſeveral magnificent and Royal Edifices,
" (Deſpiſing his *own private* Intereſt)
" For the Service of his Country, his King, and his God.
" He lived both for his own Times and for Poſterity,
" And, himſelf being learned, was an Encourager of learned Men
" Go away, COURTIER! and endeavour to emulate his Example."

It

" with *Sacrilege*; for he did not alienate the Reve-
" nues from Religious Service, but only made a
" Change in the Diſpoſal, he only turned the Mo-
" naſteries into Colleges. Now every body knows,
" that theſe Societies are expreſly dedicated to the
" Honour of Almighty God.

" It is further objected, that the Cardinal's Prece-
" dent led the Way to future Liberties, and proved
" fatal to the reſt of the Monaſteries. To this it may
" be anſwered by asking a Queſtion, Did ever any
" body lay the Imputation of *Sacrilege* to *Wainfleet* or
" *Chichley*? Did ever any body charge theſe Prelates
" with *ſacrilegious Invaſion*, for building their Col-
" leges on the Ruins of the Priors alien? For re-
" ceiving the Revenues of thoſe forfeited Eſtates to
" endow their Foundations? Laſtly, were not the
" *Templers* ſuppreſſed, and their Lands every where
" ſeized in the 14th Century? And was not the Diſſo-
" lution of their Houſes countenanced by the Pope him-
" ſelf?" So much for that reverend and very learn-
ed Gentleman's Juſtification of the Cardinal's Pro-
ceedings in that reſpect. " The

It is with Pleaſure we ſee at this Day, the College has overcome the different Misfortunes that have attended it ſince the Foundation, which ſtands upon a vaſt Extent of Ground, having,

A DEAN.
Eight CANONS.
Hundred and one STUDENTS.
Eight CHAPLAINS.
Eight SINGING-MEN.
Beſides an HOSPITAL for Twenty-four poor Men.
Eight CHORISTERS, and a Maſter to teach them MUSICK.
An ORGANIST.
A SCHOOL-MASTER, and USHER.
Forty GRAMMAR-SCHOLARS.

The preſent Dean and Canons thereof are as follows:

Dr. JOHN CONYBEARE, Dean.
Dr. JOHN FANSHAWE, Sub-Dean.
Dr. ROBERT CLAVERING, Lord Biſhop of *Peterborough*.
Dr. PETER FOULKES.
Dr. JOHN GILBERT, Lord Bp. of *Landaff*.
Dr. PHILIP BARTON.
Dr. RICHARD TREVOR.
Dr. DAVID GREGORY.
Dr. ROBERT FRIEND.

The Writer of the *Church Hiſtory* of *England*, from the Year 1500 to the Year 1688, and who is thought to be a *Roman Catholick*, argues thus on this Head: "Several of our Hiſtorians, *Spelman*, *Dugdale*, *Collier*, * &c. take the liberty to charge Cardinal "*Wolſey* with *Sacrilege*, on account of the Diſſolution of theſe forty Monaſteries. Tho' *Secularizing* "Church Lands may deſerve that Cenſure, eſpecially "when the Seizure is made after an illegal Manner, "and without any Regard to due Authority; yet "this Undertaking of Cardinal *Wolſey*'s ſeems to "be out of the Caſe; for the Revenues of thoſe Mo"naſteries being diſpoſed of to a Spiritual Uſe (at "leaſt the Intention was) with the joint Conſent of "the See of *Rome*, and the ſupreme Power in *Eng*"*land*, was far different Management than what "happened at the general Diſſolution of Religious "Houſes, when the Lands and Goods of the Church "were divided among Courtiers, and miſapplied in "all manner of criminal Exceſſes; and when nei"ther the See of *Rome*, nor thoſe concerned in the "Guardianſhip, were either conſulted or conſenting "thereto."

We ſhall ſum up what theſe learned Gentlemen have ſaid with taking notice, That the Cardinal was not the firſt Author of advancing the Diſpoſition of Abbey Lands, towards appropriating them (as was thought) to more beneficial Uſes whether in reſpect to Religion or Learning; neither was this the firſt Inſtance in the Reign of *Henry* the VIIIth of ſuch an Appropriation. The Monaſtery of *Broom-hall* was diſſolved in the Year 1521, by Advice and at the Inſtance of *Fiſher*, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, to the end that the Revenues thereof

* The Gentleman is miſtaken with regard to *Collier*, as appears from the foregoing Quotation.

thereof might be applied for the better Maintenance and Support of *St. John's* College in *Cambridge*. About the ſame Time the Priory of *Heigham*, in *Kent*, was alſo diſſolved, and the Demeſnes thereof granted to the ſame College: Upon which Occaſion the King wrote a very preſſing Letter to the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*; from whence it may reaſonably be concluded, that this Prelate was the chief Adviſer and Inſtrument of thoſe Benefactions to a Society, which has ſucceſſively from that Time produced ſome of the greateſt Lights, both in the Eccleſiaſtical State, and the Republick of Letters. And here we ſhall cloſe our *Third Volume*.

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